

THE
WAY and MANNER
OF THE
REFORMATION
OF THE

Church of England

DECLARED and JUSTIFIED:

Against the Clamors and Objections
of the Opposite Parties.

By PETER HEYLYN, D. D.

MALACH. 2. 7.

*Labia Sacerdotis custodient Sapienciam, & legem requirunt
ex ore ejus: quia Angelus Domini Exercituum est.*

HEB. 13. 17.

*Obeÿ them that rule over you, and submit your selves, for
they watch for your souls, as they that must give account,
that they may do it with joy and not grief.*

LONDON,

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St. Dunstons Church in Fleetstreet, M. DC. LVII.

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REFORMATION
OF THE

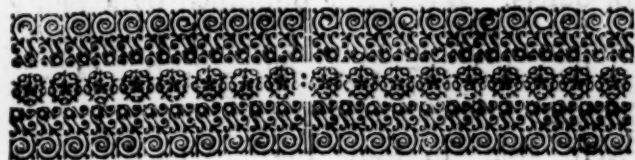
Church of England

DECLARED AND ESTABLISHED
Against the Errors and Opinions
of the Papists

BY JAMES HAYWARD

London, Printed by J. Sturges, at the
Sign of the Anchor, in St. Dunstons Church-yard, 1702.

By Authority of the House of Commons.
In the Year 1702.



TO THE READER.

THe occasion which induc'd me to the writing of this Discourse hath been already touched at in our *general Preface*, and shall be shewn thee more at large in the following Preamble or *Introduction*. Let it suffice thee now to know, that it was done on an occasion *really* given, and not in *supposition* only, the better to bring in the Design which I have in hand; and that it gave such satisfaction to the *Party* for whose
sake

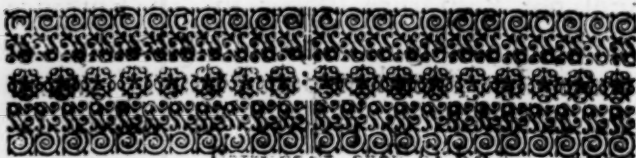
sake it was undertaken, that it was thought
 fit by some to have it publisht for the Use
 of others. But being published by a faulty
 and imperfect Copy, I caus'd it presently
 to be call'd in; not willing it should goe
 abroad (though without my Name) till it
 were able in some measure to defend it
 self, if not to justifie the Authour. Being
 now set upon a resolution, which God
 bless me in, of vindicating this poor
 Church (as far at least as in me is) in her
 Forms of Worship, her Government and
 establishd Patrimony, together with the
 Times and Places destinate to her Sacred Of-
 fices; I have thought good to place this
 Tractate in the Front, as a *Præcognitum* or
 necessary *Manuduction* unto all the rest. The
 way and manner of the Reformation of the
 Church of England declared and justified, can-
 not but give a good Relish unto all that
 follows, being no other then the Essenti-
 all parts and branches of that Reformati-
 on. If thou art satisfied in this, it will
 be a faire *Omen* to me, that the rest may
 not prove unwelcome. And that thou mayst
 per-

To the Reader.

peruse it with the greater chearfulness; I will not keep thee longer in the Entrance of it; it being no good Husbandry to waste that Friend in petit Matters, whom we endeavour to preserve for nobler favours. And so fare thee well.

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The



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The Way of the
Reformation of the Church of England
Declared and Justified, &c.

The Introduction.

Shewing the Occasion, Method, and Design of the whole Discourse.

My dear Hierophilus, 1642

 company is alwaies very pleasing to me; but you are never better welcome then when you bring your doubts and scruples along with you, for by that means you put me to the studying of some point or other, whereby I benefit my self, if not profit you. And I remember at the time of your last being with me, you seemed much scandalized for the Church of England, telling me you were well assured that her Doctrine was most true and orthodox, her Government conform to the Word of God and the best ages of the Church; and that her publick Liturgie was an extract of the *primitive Formes*; nothing in all the whole Composure but what did tend to edification and increase of piety. But for all this, you were unsatisfied (as you said) in the waies and means by which this Church proceeded in her Reformation, alledging, that you had heard it many times objected by some Partisans of the Church of Rome, that our Religion was meer *Parliamentarian*, not regulated by *Synodical Meetings*, or the Authority of Councils, as in elder Times; or as Dr. Harding said long since in his Answer unto B. Jewel, That we had a *Parliament Religion*, a *Parliament Faith*, and a *Parliament Gospel*: To which Scultingius and some others after added, that we had none but *Parliament Bishops*, and a *Parliament Clergy*; that you were apt enough to think that the *Papists* made not all this noise without some ground for it, in regard you have observed some *Parliaments* in these latter

daies so mainly bent to catch at all occasions, whereby to manifest their power in Ecclesiastical matters, especially in constituting the *new Assembly* of Divines and others. And finally, that you were heartily ashamed, that being so often choaked with these Objections, you neither knew how to traverse the *Indictment*, nor plead *Not guilty to the Bill*. Some other doubts you said you had, relating to the King, the Pope, and the *Protestant Churches*, either too little or too much look'd after in our Reformation, but you were loth to trouble me with too much at once. And thereupon you did intreat me to bethink my self of some fit Plaster for the Sore which did oft afflict you, religiously affirming that your desires proceeded not from *curiosity*, or an itch of knowledge, or out of any disaffection to the Power of *Parliaments*; but meerly from an honest zeal to the Church of *England*, whose credit and prosperity you did far prefer before your life, or whatsoever in this world could be dear unto you; Adding withall, that if I would take this pains for your satisfaction, and help you out of these perplexities which you were involved in, I should not only do good service to the Church it self, but to many a wavering member of it, whom these objections had much staggered in their Resolutions. In fine, that you desired also to be informed how far the *Parliaments* had been interess'd in these alterations of Religion, which hapned in the Reigns of *K. Hen. the 8. K. Edw. the 6. and Queen Elizabeth*? what ground there was for all all this clamour of the *Papists*? and whether the Houses, or either of them, have exercised of old any such Authority in matters of Ecclesiastical or Spiritual nature, as some of late have ascribed unto them? Which though it be a dangerous and invidious subject (as the times now are) yet for your sake, and for the Truths, and for the honour of *Parliaments*, which seem to suffer much in that *Popish* calumny, I shall undertake it; premising first, that I intend not to say any thing to the point of *Right*, whether or not the *Parliament* may lawfully meddle in such matters as concern Religion; but shall apply my self wholly unto matters of *Fact*, as they relate unto the *Reformation* here by Law established. And for my method in this businesse, I shall first lay down by way of *preamble*, the form of calling of the *Convoca-*

tion of the Clergy here in *England*, that we may see by what Authority they proceed in their Constitutions, and then declare what was acted by the *Clergy* in that *Reformation*: In which, I shall begin with the ejection of the Pope, and settling the *Supremacy* in the Crown Imperial of this Realm; descending next to the *Translation* of the Scriptures into the *English* Tongue, the *Reformation* of the Church in *Doctrinals* and *Formes of Worship*, and to proceed unto the Power of making *Canons* for the well ordering of the Clergy, and the direction of the people in the Exercise of their Religion; concluding with an Answer to all such Objections (by what party soever they be made) as are most material. And in the canvassing of these points, I doubt not but it will appear unto you, that till these late busie and unfortunate Times, in which every man intrudeth on the Priestly Function, the Parliaments did nothing at all either in making *Canons*, or in matters *Doctrinall*, or in *Translation* of the Scriptures: next that that little which they did in reference to the *Formes* and *Times* of Worship, was no more then the inflicting of some *Temporal* or *legal* penalties on such as did neglect the one, or not conform unto the other, having been first digested and agreed upon in the *Clergy* way: and finally that those Kings and Princes before remembred, by whose Authority the Parliaments did that little in those *Formes* and *Times*, did not act any thing in that kinde themselves, but what was warranted unto them by the word of God and the example of such godly and religious Emperors and other Christian Kings and Princes, as flourished in the happiest times of Christianity. This is the sum of my design, which I shall follow in the order before laid down: assuring you that when you shall acquaint me with your other scruples, I will endeavour what I can for your satisfaction.

1. *Of calling or assembling the Convocation of the Clergy, and the Authority thereof when conven'd together.*

And in this we are first to know, that anciently the Archbishop of the severall Provinces of *Canterbury* and *York* were vested with a power of *Convocating* the Clergy of their severall and respective Provinces, when, and as often as they thought it necessary for the Churches peace. And of this power they did make

use upon all extraordinary and emergent cases, either as Metropolitans and Primates in their several Provinces, or as *Legati nati* to the Popes of Rome: but ordinarily, and of common course especially after the first passing of the Acts or Statutes of *Premuniri*, they did restrain that power to the good pleasure of the Kings under whom they lived, and used it not but as the necessities and occasions of these Kings, or the distresses of the Church did require it of them; and when it was required of them, the *Writ* or *Precept* of the King was in this form following. *Rex, &c. Reverendissimo in Christo Patri N. Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo totius Angliæ Primate & Apostolicæ sedis Legato salutem. Quibusdam arduis & urgentibus negotiis defensionem & securitatem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, ac pacem, tranquillitatem, & bonum publicum, & defensionem Regni nostri, & subditorum nostrorum ejusdem concernentibus, Vobis in Fide & dilectione, quibus nobis tenemini, rogando mandamus, quatenus præmissis debito intuitu attentis & ponderatis universos & singulos Episcopos vestræ Provinciæ, ac Decanos & Priores Ecclesiarum Cathedralium, Abbates, Priores & alios Electivos, exemptos & non exemptos, nec non Archidiaconos, Conventus, Capitula, & Collegia totumq; Clerum cujuslibet Dioeceseos ejusdem Provinciæ, ad conveniendum coram vobis in Ecclesia Sancti Pauli London. vel alibi, prout melius expedire videritis, cum omni celeritate accommoda modo debito Convocari faciatis; Ad tractandum, consentiendum & concludendum super præmissis & aliis quæ sibi clarius proponentur, tunc & ibidem ex parte nostra. Et hoc sicut nos & statum Regni nostri, ac honorem & utilitatem Ecclesiæ prædictæ diligitis, nullatenus omittatis. Teste meipso, &c.* These are the very words of the antient Writs, and are still retained in these of later Times; but that the Title of *Legatus sedis Apostolicæ* then used in the Archbishops stile was laid aside together with the Pope himself; and that there is no mention in them of Abbots, Priors, and Convents, as being now not extant in the Church of England. And in this *Writ* you may observe; first, that the calling of the Bishops and Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury* to a *Synodical* Assembly, belonged to the Archbishop of that Province only (the like to him of *York* also within the Sphere or Verge of his Jurisdiction.) Secondly, that the nominating of the time and place for this Assembly was left to the Arch-Bishops pleasure, as seemed best unto him; though for the most part, and with reference unto themselves & the other Prelates, who were bound to attend the service of the King in *Parliament*, they caused these Meetings to be held at the time and

and place, at, and to which the *Parliament* was or had been called by the Kings Authority. Thirdly, That from the word *Convocari* used in the *Writ*, the *Synodical* meetings of the Clergy were named *Convocations*. And fourthly, That the Clergy thus assembled in *Convocation* had not only a power of *treating* on and consenting unto such things as should be there propounded on the Kings behalf, but a power also of *concluding* or not *concluding* on the same as they saw occasion: Not that they were restrained only to such points as the King propounded, or were proposed in his behalf to their consideration; but that they were to handle his business with their own, wherein they had full power when once met together.

In the next place we must behold what the Archbishop did in pursuance of the Kings command for calling the Clergy of his Province to a *Convocation*, who on the receipt of the Kings *Writ* presently issued out his Mandate to the Bishop of London (Dean by his place of the whole Colledge of Bishops of that Province) requiring him immediately on the sight hereof (and of the Kings *Writ* incorporated and included in it) to cite and summon all the Bishops, and other Prelates, Deans, Arch-Deacons, and capitular Bodies, with the whole Clergy of that Province, that they the said Bishops, Deans, Arch-Deacons, in their own persons, the *Capitular* Bodies by one *Procurator*, and the Clergy of each Diocese by two, do appear before him at the time and place by him appointed, and that those *Procurators* should be furnished with sufficient powers by those which sent them, not only to *treat* upon such points as should be propounded touching the peace of the Church, and defence and welfare of the Realm of *England*, and to give their counsel in the same; *sed ad consentiendum iis que ibidem ex communis deliberatione ad honorem Dei & Ecclesiæ in præmissis contigerint concorditer ordinari*; but also to consent both in their own names, and in the names of those who sent them, unto all such things, as by mature deliberation and consent should be there ordained. Which *Mandate* being received by the Bishop of London, the several Bishops cited accordingly, and intimation given by those Bishops unto their *Arch-Deacons* for summoning the Clergy to make choice of their *Procurators*, as also the Chapters, or capitular Bodies, to do the like: The next work is to proceed to the choice of those *Procurators*. Which choice being made, the said Chapters under their common seals, and the said Clergy in a publick Writing subscribed by them,

them, do bind themselves *sub Hypotheca omnium bonorum suorum*, under the pawn and forfeiture of all their goods moveable and immoveable (I speak the very words of these publick Instruments) *se ratum, gratum & acceptum habere quicquid dicti Procuratores sui nomine & vice suis fecerint, &c.* To stand to and perform whatsoever their said *Procurators*, in their name and stead, shall do, determine and consent to. The like is also done in the Province of York; but that the Arch-B. thereof sends out the summons in his own name to the *suffragan Bishops*, the Province being small, and the *Suffragans* not above three in number. Finally, as the *Convocations* of the Clergy in their several Provinces were called by the Arch-Bishops only, the Kings *Writ* thereunto requiring and authorizing; so by the same powers were they also *dissolved* again, when they had done the business they were called about, or did desire to be dismissed to their own affairs. At which time by special *Writ* or *Mandates* to the said Arch-Bishops, expressing the calling and assembling of the *Convocation* by virtue of the former *Precept*, it is declared, That on certain urgent causes and considerations moving his Majesty thereunto, *he thought fit with the advice of his privie Council*, that the same should be again dissolved: *Et ideo vobis mandamus quod eandem presentem Convocationem hac instanti die debito modo sine ulla dilatione dissolvatis, five dissolvi faciatis, prout convenit*; and therefore did command them to dissolve it, or cause the same to be dissolved in the accustomed manner without delay. Which *Writ* received, and not before, the *Convocation* was *dissolved* accordingly: and so it holds in Law and practise to this very day.

I have the longer staid on these publick Formes, partly because not obvious unto every eye; but specially to let you see by what Authority the Clergy are to be assembled in their *Convocations*, and what it is which makes their Canons and Conclusions binding, unto all those which send them thither, or intrust them there. Their calling by the Kings Authority makes their meeting lawful, which else were liable to exceptions and disputes in Law, and possibly might render them obnoxious to some grievous penalties; and so would their continuance too after the writ was issued for their *Dissolution*. As on the contrary their breaking or *dissolving* of their own accord, would make them guilty of contempt, and consequently subject to the Kings displeasure; for being called by the Kings *Writ*, they are to continue till dissolved by the Kings *Writ* also, not-
with-

withstanding the dissolving of the Parliament, with which sometimes it might be summoned. And so it was resolved in *terminis*, by the chief Judges of the Realm and others of his Majesties Counsel learned, May 10. anno 1640. at such time as the *Convocations* did continue sitting, the Parliament being most unhappily dissolved on the Tuesday before, subscribed by Finch Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, Manchester then Lord privy Seal, Littleton chief Justice of the Common-pleas, Bankes Attorney General, Whitfield and Heath his Majesties Sergeants, Authority enough for the poor Clergy to proceed on, though much condemned and maligned for obedience to it. [Now as they have the Kings Authority not only for their Meeting, but continuance also; so also have they all the power of the whole National Clergy of England, to make good whatsoever they conclude upon: the Arch-Bishops, Deans, Arch-Deacons, acting in their own capacities, the *Procurators* in the name and by the power committed to them, both by the Chapters or capitular Bodies, and the *Diocesan* Clergy of both Provinces. And this they did by vertue of that power and trust alone, without any ratification or confirmation from King or Parliament, untill the 25 year of King Henry the 8. At which time they bound themselves by a *Synodical Act* (whereof more hereafter) not to enact, promulge, or execute any Canons, Constitutions, or Ordinances Provincial in their *Convocations* for time coming, unlessse the Kings Highness by his Royal Assent command them to make, promulge, and execute the same accordingly. Before this time they acted absolutely in their *Convocations* of their own Authority, the Kings Assent neither concurring nor required; and by this sole Authority which they had in themselves, they did not only make *Canons*, declare *Heresie*, convict and censure persons suspected of *Heresie*, in which the subjects of all sorts (whose Votes were tacitely included in the suffrages of their Pastors & spiritual Fathers) were concerned alike. But also to conclude, the Clergy whom they represented in the point of *Property*, imposing on them what they pleased, and levying it by *Canons* of their own enacting. And they enjoyed this power to the very day in which they tendered the *submission*, which before we spake of. For by this self-authority (if I may so call it) they imposed and levied that great Subsidie of 120000 *l.* (an infinite sum as the Standard of the Times then was) granted unto King Henry the 8. anno 1530. to free them from the fear and danger of the *Premuniri*. By this the Benefit of the

Chap-

Chapter called *Similiter* in the old *Provincial*, extended formerly to the University of *Oxon* only, was made communicable the same year unto *Cambridge* also. By this *Crome*, *Latimer*, *Bilney*, and divers others, were in the year next following impeached of *Herefie*. By this the Will and Testament of *William Tracie* of *Toddington* was condemned as *scandalous and heretical*, and his body taken up and burnt not many daies before the passing of the Act of *Submission*, anno 1532.

But this power being thought too great or inconsistent at least with the Kings Design touching his divorce, the Clergy were reduced unto such a straight by the degrees and steps which you find in the following Section, as to submit their power unto that of the King, and to promise in *verbo sacerdotii*, that they would do and enact nothing in their *Convocations* without his consent. And to the gaining of this point, he was pressed the rather, in regard of a *Remonstrance* then presented to Him by the *House of Commons*, in which they shewed themselves aggrieved, that the Clergy of this Realm should act Authoritatively, and supremely in the *Convocations*, and they in *Parliament* do nothing, but as it was confirmed and ratified by the *Royal Assent*. Which notwithstanding, though this *Submission* brought down the *Convocation* to the same Level with the Houses of Parliament; yet being made unto the King in his single person, and not as in conjunction with his Houses of *Parliament*, it neither brought the *Convocation* under the command of *Parliaments*, nor rendred them obnoxious to the power thereof. That which they did in former times of their self-authority (in matters which concerned the Church) without the Kings consent co-operating and concurring with them, the same they did and might do in the Times succeeding, the Kings Authority and Consent being superadded, without the help and midwifery of an Act of Parliament, though sometimes that Authority was made use of also, for binding of the subject under *Temporal* and *Legal* penalties, to yeeld obedience and conformity to the Churches Orders. Which being the true state of the present businesse, it makes the clamour of the *Papists* the more unreasonable; but then withall it makes it the more easily answered. *Temporal punishments* inflicted on the refractory and disobedient in a *Temporal Court*, may adde some strength unto the Decrees and Constitutions of the Church, but they take none

none from it : Or if they did, the Religion of the Church of *Rome*, the whole Mass of *Popery*, as it was received and sailed here in *Qu. Maries* Reign, would have a sorry crutch to stand upon, and might as justly bear the name of a *Parliament Faith*, as the reformed Religion of the Church of *England*. It is true indeed, that had those *Convocations* which were active in that *Reformation*, being either called or summoned by the King in *Parliament*, or by the Houses separately, or ~~conjunction~~^{conjunction} without the King : or had the Members of the same been nominated and empowered by the House alone, and intermixt with a considerable number of the Lords and Commons; (which being by the way, the Case of this *New Assembly*, I do not see how any thing which they agree on can bind the Clergy, otherwise then imposed by a strong hand, and against their priviledge.) Or finally, had the conclusions or results thereof been of no effect, but as reported to and confirmed in *Parliament*, the Papists might have had some ground for so gross a calumny, in calling the Religion which is now established, by the name of a *Parliament Religion*, and a *Parliament Gospel*. But so it is not in the Case which is now before us, the said *Submission* nor withstanding. For being the *Convocation* is still called by the same Authority as before it was, the Members of that Body ~~still~~ still the same priviledge, with the same freedom of debate and determination; and which is more, the *Precursors* of the Clergy invested with the same power and trust which before they had : there was no alteration made by the said *Submission*, in the whole constitution and compoſure of it, but onely the addition of a greater and more excellent power. Nor was there any thing done here in that *Reformation*, but either by the Clergy in their *Convocations*, and in their *Convocations* rightly called and canonically constituted, or with the counsel and advice of the Heads thereof in more private conferences; the *Parliaments* of these Times contributing very little towards it, but acquiescing in the Wisdom of the Sovereign Prince, and in the piety and zeal of the *Ghossly Fathers*. This is the Ground-work or Foundation of the following building. It is now time I should proceed to the *Superstructures* beginning first with the *Ejection of the Pope*, and vesting the Supremacie in the Regal Crown.

2 Of the Ejection of the Pope, and vesting the Supremacy in the Regall Crown.

ANd first, beginning with the Ejection of the Pope and his Authority that led the way unto the Reformation of Religion which did after follow: It was first voted and decreed in the Convocation, before ever it became the subject of an *Act of Parliament*. For in the Year 1530. 22 Hen. 8. the Clergy being caught in a *premunire*, were willing to redeem their danger by a sum of money; and to that end, the Clergy of the Province of Canterbury bestowed upon the King the sum of 100000 *li.* to be paid by equal portions in the same Year following; but the King would not so be satisfied, unless they would acknowledge him for the *supream Head on earth for the Church of England*; which, though it was hard meat, and would not easily down amongst them, yet it passed at last. For, being thoroughly debated in a *Synodical way*, both in the upper and lower Houses of Convocation, they did, *in fine*, agree upon this expression. *Cujus (Ecclesie SC. Anglicanae) Singularem protectorem, unicv'm & Supremum Dominum, & (quantum per Christi leges licet) Supremum caput, ipsius Majestatem recognoscimus.* To this they all consented and subscribed their hands, and afterwards incorporated it into the *publike Act or Instrument*, which was presented to the King in the Name of his Clergy, for the redeeming of their error, and the grant of their money, which as it doth at large appear in the Records and Acts of the Convocation, so it is touched upon in a Historical way in the *Antiq. Britan. Mason de Mist. Anglic.* and other Authors; by whom it also doth appear, that what was thus concluded on by the Clergy of the Province of Canterbury, was also ratified and confirmed by the Convocation of the Province of York (according to the usual custom) save that they did not buy their pardon, at so dear a rate. This was the Leading Card to the Game that followed. For on this ground were built the Statutes, prohibiting all Appeals to Rome, and for determining all Ecclesiastical suits and controversies within the Kingdoms, 24 H. 8. c. 12. That for the manner of electing and consecrating of Arch-Bishops and Bishops, 25 H. 8. c. 20. and the prohibiting the payment of all Impositions to the Court of Rome; and for obtaining all such dispensations from the See of Canterbury, which formerly were procured from the Popes of Rome, 25. H.

8.c.21. Which last is built expressly upon this foundation; *That the King is the only supreme Head of the Church of England, and was so recognized by the Prelates and Clergy, representing the said Church in their Convocation. And on the very same foundation was the Statute raised, 26 H.8.c.1. wherein the King is declared to be the supreme Head of the Church of England, and to have all honours and prebeminences which were annexed unto that Title, as by the Act it self doth at full appear: Which Act being made (I speak it from the Act it self) onely for corroboration and confirmation of that which had been done in the Convocation did afterwards draw on the Statute for the Tenth and first fruits, as the point incident to the Headship or supreme Authority, 26 H.8.c.3.*

The second step to the Ejection of the Pope, was the submission of the Clergy, to the said King Henry, whom they had recognized for their supreme Head. And this was first concluded on in the Convocation, before it was proposed or agitated in the Houses of Parliament, and was commended onely to the care of the Parliament, that it might have the force of a Law by a civil Sanction. The whole debate, with all the traverses and emergent difficulties which appeared therein, are specified at large in the Records of Convocation, Anno 1532. But being you have not opportunity to consult those Records, I shall prove it by the *Act of Parliament*, called commonly *The Act of submission of the Clergy*; but bearing this Title in the *Abridgment of the Statutes* set out by Poulton; *That the Clergy in their Convocations shall enact no constitutions without the Kings assent.* In which it is premised for granted, that the Clergy of the Realm of England, had not onely acknowledged, according to the Truth, that the Convocation of the same Clergy, is, alwayes both been, and ought to be assembled alwayes by the Kings Writ; but also submitting themselves to the Kings Majesty, had promised, in verbo Sage datis, *That they would never from henceforth presume to attempt, allcadge, claim, or put in ure, enact, promulge, or execute, any new Canons, Constitutions, Ordinances provincial, or other; or by whatsoever other name they shall be called in the Convocation, unless the Kings most Royal Assent may to them be had, to make, promulge, and execute the same; and that his Majesty do give his most Royal Assent and Authority in that behalf.*

Upon which ground-work of the Clergies, the Parliament shortly after built this superstructure, to the same effect, viz.

That none of the said Clergy from thenceforth should presume to attempt, alleadge, claim, or put in ure, any Constitutions, or Ordinances Provincial, or Synodals, or any other Canons; nor shall enact, promulge, or execute any such Canons, Constitutions, or Ordinances Provincial, (by whatsoever name or names they may be called) in their Convocations in time coming (which alwayes shall be assembled by the Kings Writ) unless the same Clergy may have the Kings in st Royal Assent and Licence to make, promulge, and execute such Canons, Constitutions, and Ordinances Provincial, or Synodical, upon pain of every one of the said Clergy doing the contrary to this Act, and thereof convicted, to suffer imprisonment, and make fine as the Kings Will, 25 H.8. c.19.

So that the statute, in effect, is no more then this, an Act to binde the Clergy to perform their promise, to keep them fast unto their word for the time to come, that no new Canon should be made in the times succeeding in the favour of the Pope, or by his Authority, or to the diminution of the Kings Royal Pre-rogative, or contrary to the Lawes and statutes of this Realm of England, as many Papal Constitutions were in the former Ages: Which statute I desire you to take notice of, because it is the Rule and Measure of the Churches power in making Canons, Constitutions, or whatsoever else you shall please to call them in their Convocations.

The third and small Act, conducing to the Popes Ejection, was an Act of Parliament, 28.H.8.c.10. entituled, *An Act extinguishing the Authority of the Bishop of Rome*. By which it was enacted, That if any person should extoll the Authority of the Bishop of Rome, he should incur the penalty of a prebend; that every Officer both Ecclesiastical and Lay should be sworn to renounce the said Bishop and his Authority, and to resist it to his power, and to repute any Oath formerly taken in maintenance of the said Bishop, or his Authority, to be void, and finally, that the refusal of the said Oath should be judged High Treason. But this was also usher'd in, by the determination first, and after by the practice of all the Clergy. For in the year 1534, which was two years before the passing of this Act, the King had sent this Proposition to be agitated in both Universities, and in the greatest and most famous Monasteries of the kingdom, that is to say, *An aliquid auctoritatis in hoc Regno Angliæ Pontifici Romano, de jure competat plusquam alii cujunque Episcopo cetero?* By whom it was determined Negatively, that the Bishop of Rome had no more power of right in the Kingdom of England, than any other

ther forreign Bishop. Which being testified and returned, under the hands and seales respectively (the Originals whereof are still remaining in the Library of *St Robert Cotton*) was a good preamble to the Bishops, and the rest of the Clergy, assembled in their Convocation, to conclude the like. And so accordingly they did, and made an *Instrument* thereof subscribed by the hands of all the Bishops, and others of the Clergy, and afterwards confirmed the same by their corporal Oaths. The copies of which Oaths and Instrument you shall finde in *Foxes AEs and Monuments, Vol. 2. fol. 1263. and fol. 1210, 1211.* of the Edition of *John Day, Annis 1570.* And this was semblably the ground of a following *Statute, 35 H. 8. c. 1.* where in another Oath was devised and ratified, to be imposed upon the Subject, for the more cleer asserting of the Kings Supremacy, and the utter exclusion of the Popes for ever; which *Statutes*, though they were all repealed by an Act of *Parliament, 1 and 24 of Phil. and Mary, c. 1.* save that the name of *supream Head* was changed unto that of the *supream Governour*, and certain clauses altered in the Oath of Supremacy. Where (by the way) you must take notice, that the *Statutes* which concerns the Kings Supremacy, are not introductory of any new Right, that was not in the Crown before; but onely declaratory of an old, as our best Lawyers tell us; and the *Statute* of the 26 of H. 8. c. 1. doth clearly intimate. So that in the Ejection of the Pope of Rome, which was the first and greatest step towards the Work of Reformation, the Parliament did nothing, for ought it appears, but what was done before in the Convocation, and did no more than fortifie the Results of *Hely Councb*, by the addition and corroboration of the *Secular Power.*

3 Of the Translation of the Scriptures, and permitting them to be read in the English Tongue.

THE second step towards the Work of Reformation (and indeed one of the most especial parts thereof) was the Translation of the Bible into the English Tongue, and the permitting all sorts of people to peruse the same, as that which visibly did tend to the discovery of the errors and corruptions in the Church of Rome; and the intollerable pride and tyranny of the *Romane Prelates*, upon which grounds it had been formerly translated into English by the hand

hand of *Wickliff*, and after on the spreading of *Luthers Doctrine*, by the paines of *Tindal*, a stout and active man in King *Henries* dayes, but not so well befriended as the work deserved: especially considering that it hapned in such a time when many printed Pamphlets did disturb the State (and some of them of *Tindals* making) which seemed to tend unto sedition, and the change of Government. Which being remonst. ated to the King, he caused divers of his Bishops, tog ther with sundry of the learnedst and most eminent Divines of all the Kingdom to come before him: Whom he required sicerly and plainly to declare, atwel what their opision was of the fersaid Pamphlets, as what they did think fit to be done concerning the *Translation* of the Bible into the *English Tongue*; And they upon mature advise and deliberation unanimously conden- ned the aforesaid Books of H. rse and Blasphemy (no smaller crime:) then for *translating* of the Scriptures into the *English Tongue*; they agreed all with one assent, that it depended wholly on the will and pleasure of the Sovereign Prince, who might do therein as he conceived to be most agreeable to his occasions; but that with reference to the present estate of things, it was more expedient to explain the Scripture to the people by the way of Sermons, then to permit it to be read promiscuously by all sorts of men: yet so that hopes were to be given unto the *Laitie*, that if they did renounce their errors, and presently deliver to the hands of his Majesties Officers all such Bookes and Bibles (which they conceived to be translated with great fraud and falshood) as any of them had in keeping; his Majesty would cause a true and catholike *Translation* of it to be published in convenient time, for the use of his Subjects.

This was the sum and substance of the present Conference, which you shal finde laid down at large in the Registers of Arch-Bishop Warham.

And according to this advice the King sets out a *Proclamation*, not onely prohibiting the buying, reading, or translating of any the aforesaid Bookes, but straitly charging all his Subjects which had any of the Bookes of Scripture, either of the Old Testament, or of the New, in the *English Tongue*, to bring them in without delay. But for the other part, of giving hope unto the people of a true *Translation*, if they delivered in the false (for that at least which was pre-

pretended to be false) I finde no word at all in the *Proclamation*. That was a work reserved unto better times, or left to be solicited by the Bishops themselves, and other Learned men who had given the counsel; by whom (indeed) the people were kept up in hope that all should be accomplished unto their desires.

And so indeed it proved at last. For in the Convocation of the year 1536. the authority of the *Pope* being abrogated, and *Cranmer* fully settled in the See of *Canterbury*, the Clergy did agree upon a form of *Petition* to be presented to the King, That he would graciously indulge unto his subjects of the Laity the reading of the Bible in the English Tongue, and that a new Translation of it might be forthwith made for that end and purpose.

According to which godly motion, his Majesty did not onely give Order for a new Translation, which afterwards He authorized to be read both in publique and private; but in the interim he permitted CROMWEL, his Vicar General, to set out an *Injunction* for providing the whole Bible both in Latine and English, after the Translation then in use, (which was called commonly by the name of *Matthewes Bible*, but was no other then that of *Tindal* somewhat altered) to be kept in every Parish Church throughout the Kingdom, for every one that would repair unto, and caused this mark or character of Authority to be set upon them in red Letters, Set forth with the Kings most gracious Licence; which you may see in Fox his *Acts and Monum.* p. 1248. and 1363.

Afterwards when the new Translation so often promised, and so long expected, was compleat and finished; printed at London by the Kings Authority, and countenanced by a grave and pious Preface of Arch-Bishop *Cranmer*; the King sets out a *Proclamation* dated May 6. Anno 1541. Commanding all the Curates and Parishioners throughout the Kingdom, who were not already furnished with Bibles so authorized and translated, as is before said, to provide themselves before *All-hallowtide* next following, and to cause the Bibles, so provided, to be placed conveniently in their severall and respective Churches, straitly requiring all his Bishops, and other Ordinaries, to take special care to see his said commands put in execution.

And therewithal came out *Instructions* from the King to be published by the Clergy in their severall Parishes, the better to possesse the

the people with the Kings good affection towards them in suffering them to have the benefit of such Heavenly Treasure; and to direct them in a course by which they might enjoy the same to their greater comfort, the reformation of their lives, and the peace and quiet of the Church. Which Proclamation and Instructions are still preserved in that most admirable Treasury of St Robert Cotton.

And unto these Commands of so great a Prince, both Bishops, Priests, and People, did apply themselves with such cheerful reverence, that Bonner (even that bloody Butcher as he after proved) caused six of them to be chained in several places of St Pauls Church in London, for all that were so well inclined to resort unto, for their edification and instruction: the Book being very chargeable, because very large, and therefore called commonly (for distinctions sake) *The Bible of the greater Volume.*

Thus have we seen the Scriptures faithfully translated into the English Tongue, the Bible publicly set up in all Parish Churches, that every one which would, might peruse the same, and leave permitted to all people to buy them for their private uses, and reade them to themselves, or before their Families; and all this brought about by no other meanes than by the Kings Authority only, grounded on the advice and judgment of the Convocation.

But long it was not (I confess) before the Parliament put in for a share, and claimed some interest in the Work; but whether for the better, or the worse, I leave you to judge. For in the year 1542. the King being then in agitation of a League with Charles the Emperour, He caused a complaint to be made unto him in this Court of Parliament, That the Liberty granted to the people in having in their hands the Bookes of the Old and New Testament, had been much abused by many false glosses and interpretations which were made upon them, tending to the seducing of the people, especially of the younger sort, and the raising of sedition within the Realm.

And thereupon it was enacted by the Authority of the Parliament (on whom He was content to cast the envy of an Act so contrary to his former gracious Proclamations) That all manner of Bookes of the Old and New Testament, of the crafty, false and untrue Translation of Tyndale, be forthwith abolished, and forbidden to be used and kept. As also, that all other Bibles not being of Tyndals Translation, in which were found any Preambles or Annotations, other then the Quotations or Summaries of the

of the Chapters should be purged of the said Preambles and Annotations, either by cutting them out, or blotting them in such wise, that they might not be perceived or read. And finally, That the Bible be not read openly in any Church, but by the leave of the King, or of the Ordinary of the place; nor privately by any Women, Artificers, Apprentices, Journey-men, Husband-men, Labourers, or by any of the Servants of Teomen, or under, with several pains to those who should do the contrary.

This is the substance of the statute of the 34 and 35 Hen. 8. c. 1. Which though it shewes that there was somewhat done in Parliament, in a matter which concern'd Religion, (which howsoever if you mark it, was rather the adding of the penalties, than giving any resolution or decision of the points in question) yet I presume the Papists will not use this for an Argument, that we have either a Parliament Religion, or a Parliament Gospel; or that we stand indebted to the Parliament for the use of the Scriptures in the English Tongue, which is so principal a part of the Reformation. Nor did the Parliament speed so prosperously in the undertaking (which the wise King permitted them to have a hand in, for the foresaid ends,) or found so general an obedience in it from the common people, as would have been expected in these Times, on the like occasion; but that the King was fain to quicken and give life to the Acts thereof, by his Proclamation, Anno 1546. which you shal finde in Fox his book, fo. 1427.

To drive this Nail a little further: The terror of this statute dying with H. 8. or being repealed by that of K. Ed. 6. c. 12. the Bible was again made publique; and not onely suffered to be read by particular persons, either privately, or in the Church; but ordered to be read over yearly in the Congregation, as a part of the Liturgie, or Divine Service: Which how far it relates to the Court of Parliament we shal see anon; But for the publishing thereof in Print for the use of the people, for the comfort and edification of private persons, that was done onely by the King, at least in his Name, and by His Authority. And so it also stood in Q. Elizabeths time, the translation of the Bible being again reviewed by some of the most learned Bishops, appointed thereunto by the Queens Commission (from whence it had the name of the Bishops Bible) and upon that review, re-printed by her sole Commandement, and by her sole Authority left free and open to the use of her well-affect'd and religious Subjects. Nor did the Parliament do any thing in all Her Reign

with reference to the Scriptures in the *English Tongue*, otherwise then at the reading of them, in that Tongue, in the Congregation, is to be reckoned for a part of the *English Liturgy*, whereof more hereafter.

In the translation of them into *Welch*, or *British*, somewhat indeed was done which doth look this way. It being ordered in the *Parliament*, 5. *Eliz.* c. 28. That the B. B. of Hereford, St Davids, Bangor, Landaff, and St Asaph, should take care amongst them for translating the whole Bible, with the book of Common Prayer, into the *Welch* or *Brittish Tongue*, on pain of forfeiting 40 l. a piece in default hereof. And to incourage them therewnto, it was enacted that one book of either sort being so translated and imprinted, should be provided and bought for every Cathedral Church, as also for all Parish Churches and Chappels of Ease, where the said tongue is commonly used; the Ministers to pay the one half of the price, and the Parishioners the other.

But then you must observe withal, that it had been before determined in the Convocation of the self-same year, Anno 1562. That the Common-Prayer of the Church ought to be celebrated in a tongue which was understood by the people (as you may see in the book of *Articles of Religion*, Art. 24. which came out that year) and consequently, as well in the *Welch* or *Brittish*, as in any other. Which ear, had it been taken for Ireland also as it was for *Wales*, no question but that people had been more generally civil iz'd, and made conformable in all points to the *English Government* long before this time. And for the new Translation of K. James, his time, to shew that the Translation of Scripture is no work of *Parliament*, as it was principally occasioned by some passages in the Conference at *Hampton Court*, without recourse unto the *Parliament*, so was it done onely by such men as the King appointed, and by His Authority alone imprinted, published and imposed, care being taken by the Canon of the year, 1603. That one of them should be provided for each several Church, at the charge of the Parish. No saying in this case to an Act of *Parliament*, either to authorize the doing of it, or to impose it being done.

4. Of the Reformation of Religion in points of
Doctrine.

NEXT let us look upon the method used in former Times in the reforming of the Church, whether in points of Doctrine, or in forms of Worship, and we shall find it still the same. The Clergy did the work as to them seemed best, never advising with the Parliament, but upon the *post-factum*, and in most cases not at all. And first for *Doctrinals*, there was but little done in K. Henries time, but that which was acted by the Clergy onely in their Convocation, and so commended to the people by the Kings sole Authority, the matter being never brought within the cognizance of the two Houses of Parliament. For in the year 1536. being the year in which the Popes Authority was for ever banished, there were some *Articles* agreed on in the Convocation, and represented to the King, under the hands of the Bishops, Abbots, Priors, and inferior Clergy usually called unto those Meetings; the Original whereof being in St. Robert Cotton's Library I have often seen: Which being approved of by the King, were forthwith published under the Title of *Articles devised by the Kings Highness, to stablish Christian quietness and unity amongst the people.* In which it is to be observed: First, that those *Articles* make mention of Sacraments onely, that is to say, of Baptisme, Penance, and the Sacrament of the Altar. And secondly, That in the Declaration of the Doctrine of Justification, Images, honouring of the Saints departed; as also concerning many of the Ceremonies, and the fire of Purgatory, they differed very much from those Opinions which had been formerly received in the Church of Rome; as you may partly see by that Extract of them, which occurs in Fox his *Acts and Monuments*, Vol. 2. fol. 1246.

For the confirming of which book, and recommending it to the use of the people, His Majesty was pleased in the *Injunctions* of the year, 1536. to give command to all Deans, Parsons, Vicars, and Curates, so to open and declare in their Sermons, and other Collations, the said *Articles* unto them which be under their Cure, that they might plainly know and discern, which of them be necessary to be believed and observed for their salvation, and which do onely concern the decent and politique Order of the Church. And this

he did upon this ground, that the said *Articles* had been concluded and condescended upon by the Prelates and Clergy of the Realm in their Convocation; as appeareth in the very words of the *Injunction*: For which, (see Fox his *Acts and Monuments*, fol. 1247. I find not any thing in *Parliament* which relates to this, either to countenance the work, or to require obedience and conformity from the hand of the people. And to say truth, neither the King nor Clergy did account it necessary; but thought their own Authority sufficient to go through with it; though certainly it was more necessary at that time, then in any since: The power and reputation of the Clergy being under foot, the King scarce settled in the *Supremacy* so lately recognized unto him; and therefore the Authority of the *Parliament* of more use then afterward, in Times well ballanced and established.

'Tis true, that in some other year of that Princes Reign, we finde some use and mention of an Act of *Parliament* in matters which concerned Religion; but it was onely in such Times when the hopes of Reformation were in the Wane, and the Work went retrograde. For in the year 1539. being the 31. H.8. When the Lord *Cromwells* power began to decline, and the King was in a necessity of compliance with His Neighbouring Princes, there passed an Act of *Parliament* commonly called the statute of the six *Articles* (or the Whip with six strings.) In which it was enacted, That whosoever by word or writing should preach, teach, or publish, that in the blessed Sacraments of the Altar, under form of Bread and Wine, there is not really the naturall body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary, (or affirm otherwise thereof then was maintained and taught in the Church of Rome) should be adjudged an Heretick, and suffer death, by burning, and forfeit all his Lands and Goods, as in case of High Treason.

Secondly, That whosoever should teach or preach, that the Communion of the blessed Sacrament (in both kinds) is necessary for the health of mans soul, and ought to be maintained.

Thirdly, Or that any man after the Order of Priesthood received, might marry, or contract Matrimony.

Fourthly, Or that any woman which had vowed and professed chastity, might contract Marriage.

Fifthly, Or that private Masses were not lawful and laudable, or agreeable to the Word of God.

Or,

Or fixtly, That auricular Confession was not necessary and expedient to be used in the Church of God, should suffer death, and forfeit Lands and Goods as a Felon, 31 H.8.c.14.

The rigour of which terrible statute was shortly after mitigated in the said Kings Reign, 32 H.8.c.10. and 35 H.8.c.5. and the whole statute absolutely repealed by Act of Parliament, 1 E.6. c.12. But then it is to be observed first, that this Parliament of K.H.8. did not determine any thing in those six points of Doctrine which are therein recited; but onely took upon them to devise a course for the suppressing of the contrary Opinions, by adding by the secular Power, the punishment of Death, and forfeiture of Lands & Goods, unto the censures of the Church, which were grown weak, if not unvalid; and consequently, by degrees became neglected ever since the said K. Henry took the Headship on Him, and exercised the same by a Lay Vicar General.

And secondly, you must observe, that it appeareth evidently by the Act it self, that at the same time the King had called a Synod and Convocation of all the Archbishops, Bishops, and other learned men of the Clergy, that the Articles were first deliberately and advisedly debated, argued and reasoned, by the said Archbishops, Bishops, and other learned men of the Clergy, and their opinions in the same declared and made known, before the matter came in Parliament.

And finally, That being brought into the Parliament, there was not any thing declared and passed as doctrinall, but by the assent of the Lords Spiritual, and other learned men of the Clergy, as by the Act it self doth at large appear.

Finally, Whatsoever may be drawn from thence, can be only this, That K. Hen. did make use of his Court of Parliament for the establishing and confirming of some points of Popery, which seemed to be in danger of a Reformation. And this compared with the statute of the 34 and 35, prohibiting the reading of the Bible by most sorts of people, doth cleerly shew that the Parliaments of those times did rather hinder and retard the work of Reformation, in some especial parts thereof, than give any furtherance to the same.

But to proceed: There was another point of Reformation begun in the Lord Cromwells time, but not produced, nor brought to perfection till after his decease; and then too, not without the Midwifery of an Act of Parliament. For in the year 1537. the Bishops and

and others of the Clergy of the Convocation, had composed a Book, intituled, *The Institution of a Christian Man*; which being subscribed by all their hands, was by them presented to the King, by His most excellent judgment to be allowed of, or condemned. This book, containing the chief heads of Christian Religion, was forthwith printed, and exposed to publike view. But some things not being cleerly explicated, or otherwise subject to exception, he caused it to be reviewed and to that end, as *Supream Head on Earth of the Church of England* (I speak the very words of the Act of Parl. 32 H. 8 c. 26.) appointed the Archbishops and Bishops of both Provinces, and also a great number of the best, learned, honestest, and most vertuous sort of the Doctors of Divinity, men of discretion, judgment, and good disposition, to be called together; to the intent, that according to the very Gospel and Law of God, without any partial respect or affection to the Papistical sort, or any other sect or sects whatsoever, they sh^d declare by writing, & publish, as well the principal Articles and points of our Faith and Belief; with the Declaration, true understanding and observation of such other expedient points, as by them, with his Grace: advice, counsel, and consent, shall be thought needful and expedient; as also for the lawful Rights, Ceremonies, and observation of Gods service within this Realm

This was in the year, 1540. at what time the Parliament was also sitting; of which the King was pleased to make this especial use, That whereas the work which was in hand (I use again the words of the statute) required ripe and mature deliberation, and was not rashly to be defined and set forth, and so not fit to be restrained to the present Session, an Act was passed to this effect, *That all Determinations, Declarations, Decrees, Definitions, and Ordinances, as according to Gods Word, and Christs Gospel, should at any time hereafter be set forth by the said Archbishops and Bishops, and Doctors in Divinity, now appointed, or hereafter to be appointed by his Royal Majesty, or else by the whole Clergy of England, in, and upon the matter of Christs Religion, and the Christian Faith, and the lawful Rights, Ceremonies, and Observations of the same, by his Majesties advice and confirmation under the great Seal of England, shall be by all his Graces subjects fully believed, obeyed, observed, and performed to all purposes and intents, upon the paines and penalties therein to be comprized, as if the same had been in express word and sentences plainly and fully made, set forth, declared, and contained in the said Act, 32 H. 8. c. 26. where note, That the two Houses of Parliament were so far from meddling in*

in the matter which was then in hand, that they did not so much as require to see the Determinations and Decrees of those learned men whom His Majesty had then assembled, before they passed the present Act, to bind the Subject fully to believe, observe, and perform the same; but left it wholly to the judgment and discretion of the King and Clergy, and trusted them besides, with the ordaining and inflicting of such paines and penalties on disobedient and unconformable persons as to them seemed meet.

This ground-work laid, the work went forwards in good order, and at last being brought unto as much perfection as the said Arch-Bishops, Bishops, and other learned men would give it, without the co-operation and concurrence of the Royal assent; it was presented once again to the Kings consideration; who very carefully perused it, and altered many things with his own hand; as appears by the book it self still extant in the famous Library of St Robert Cotton; and having so altered and corrected it in some passages, returned it to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who bestowed some further paines upon it; to the end, that being to come forth in the Kings Name, and by his Authority, there might be nothing in the same which might be justly reprehended.

The business being in this forwardnesse, the King declares in Parliament, Anno 1544. being the 34 year of his Reign, his zeal and care, not onely to suppress all such Bookes and Writings as were noysome and pestilent, and tended to the seducing of his Subjects; but also to ordain and establish a certain form of pure and sincere Teaching agreeable to Gods Word, and the true Doctrine of the Catholick and Apostolick Church, whereunto men may have recourse for the decision of some such controversies, as have in Times past, and yet do happen to arise.

And for a preparatory thereunto, that so it might come forth with the greater credit, he caused an Act to pass in Parllament for the abolishing of all Bookes and Writings, comprizing any matters of Christian Religion, contrary to that Doctrine, which since the year 1540. is, or any time during the Kings life, shall be, set forth by his Highnesse, and for the punishment of all such (and that too, with most grievous paines) which should preach, teach, maintain, or defend any matter or thing contrary to the book of Doctrine, which was then in readiness, 3435 H.8.c.1. Which done, He caused

sed

ed the said book to be imprinted in the year next following, under the Title of *A necessary Doctrine for all sorts of people*; prefixing a Preface thereto in his Royal Name, to all his faithful and loving Subjects, that they might know the better in those dangerous Times, what to believe in point of Doctrine, and how they were to carry and behave themselves in points of practice.

Which Statute, as it is the greatest Evidence which those Times afford to shew, that both, or either of the Houses of Parliament had any thing to do in matters which concerned Religion; so it entitles them to no more (if at all to any thing) then that they did make way to a book of Doctrine, which was before digested by the Clergy onely, revised a ter, and corrected by the Kings own hand; and finally, perused and perfected by the *Metropolitane*.

And more then so (besides, that being but one Swallow, it can make no Summer) it is acknowledged and confessed in the Act it self (if *Poulton* understand it rightly in his Abridgment) That recourse must be had to the Catholick and Apostolick Church, for the decision of Controversies. Which as it gives the Clergy the decisive power, so it left nothing to the Houses but to assist and aid them with the Temporal Sword, when the Spiritual Word could not do the deed, the point thereof being blunted, and the edge abated.

Next, let us look upon the time of K. Ed. 6. and we shall finde the Articles and Doctrine of the Church (excepting such as were contained in the book of Common-Prayer) to be composed, confirmed, and settled in no other way, then by the Clergy onely in their Convocation, the Kings Authority co-operating and concurring with them.

For, in the Synod held in London, Anno 1552. the Clergy did compose and agree upon a book of Articles, containing the chief heads of the Christian Faith; especially, with reference to such points of Controversie, as were in difference between the Reformators of the Church of England, and the Church of Rome, and other Opponents whatsoever, which after were approved, and published by the Kings Authority.

They were in number 41. and were published by this following Title; that is to say, *Articuli de quibus in Synodo London. Anno 1552. ad tollendam opinionum dissensionem & consensum vera Religio firmandum, inter Episcopos & alios Eruditissimos Convenientes, Regia autoritate in*
huc em

lucem Editi. And, it is worth our observation, that though the *Parliament* was held at the very time, and that the *Parliament* passed several Acts which concerned Church-matters; as, viz. *An Act* for Uniformity of Divine Service, and for the confirmation of the book of Ordination, 5 and 6 *Edw. 6. c. 1.* *An Act* declaring which dayes onely shall be kept for Holy dayes; and which for Fasting dayes, C. 3. against striking or drawing weapon, either in the Church or Church-yard, C. 4. And finally, another Act for the legitimating of the Marriages of Priests and Ministers, C. 12. Yet neither in this *Parliament*, nor in that which followed, is there so much as the least syllable which reflect:th this way, or medleth any thing at all with the book of *Articles*. Where, by the way, if you behold the lawfulness of Priests Marriages as a matter *Doctrinal*; or think we owe that point of *Doctrine*, & the indulgence granted to the Clergy in it, to the care and goodness of the *Parl.* you may please to know, that the point had been before determined in the *Convocation*, & stands determined by and for the Clergy in the 31 of those *Articles*, and that the *Parliament* looked on it as a point of *Doctrine*; but as it was a matter *practical*, conducing to the benefit and improvement of the *Common-wealth*. Or if it did; yet was the statute built on no other ground-work, than the Resolution of the Clergy, the Marriage of Priests being before determined to be most lawful (I use the very words of the Act it self) and according to the Word of God, by the learned Clergy of this Realm in their *Convocations*, as well by the common assent, as by subscriptions of their hands, 5, 6. *Edw. 6. chap. 12.*

And for the time of *Queen Elizabeth*, it is most manifest, that they had no other body of *Doctrine* in the first part of her Reign, then onely the said *Articles* of *R. Edwards* book; and that which was delivered in the book of *Homilies* of the said Kings time: in which the *Parliament* had as little to do, as you have seen they had in the book of *Articles*.

But in the *Convocation* of the year, 1562. being the fifth of the *Qu.* Reign, the Bishops and Clergy taking into consideration the said book of *Articles*, and altering what they thought most fitting, to make it more conducible to the use of the Church; and the edification of the people, presented it unto the *Queen*, who caused it to be published with this Name and Title, viz. *Articles whereupon it was agreed by the Arch-Bishops, and Bishops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy in the Convocation holden at London, Anno 1562. for the avoiding*

of diversity of Opinions, and for the establishing of Consent touching true Religion; put forth by the Queens authority.

Of any thing done, or pretended to be done, by the power of the Parliament, either in the way of approbation, or of confirmation, not one word occurs either in any of the priated books, or the publique Registers.

At last, indeed in the 13th of the said Queens Reign (which was 8 years full after the passing of those Articles) comes out a Statute for the redressing of disorders in the Ministers of holy Church: In which it was enacted, That all such as were ordained Priests or Ministers of Gods Word and Sacraments, after any other form then that appointed to be used in the Church of England; all such as were to be ordained, or permitted to preach, or to be instituted into any Benefice with cure of soules, should publike-ly subscribe to the said Articles, and testifie their assent unto them. Which shews (if you observe it well) that though the Parliament did well allow of, and approve the said book of Articles, yet the said book owes neither confirmation, nor authority, to the Act of Parliament. So that the wonder is the greater, that that most insolent scoff which is put upon us by the Church of Rome, in calling our Religion by the name *Parliamentaria Religio*, should pass so long without controule; unlesse, perhaps, it was in reference to our Formes of Worship, of which I am to speak in the next place.

But first we must make answer unto some Objections which are made against us, both from Law and Practice. For Practice; first, it is alleadged by some out of Bishop Jewel, in his Answer to the cavil of Dr Harding, to be no strange matter to see Ecclesiastical Causes debated in Parliament; and that it is apparent by the Lawes of King Ina, King Alfred, King Edward, &c. That our godly fore-fathers, the Princes and Peers of this Realm, never vouchsafed to treat of matters touching the common State, before all controversies of Religion, and Causes Ecclesiastical had been concluded, *Def. of the Apol. part 6. chap. 2. sect. 1.*

But the answer unto this is easie: For first, if our Religion may be called *Parliamentarian*, because it hath received confirmation and debate in Parliament, then the Religion of our Fore-fathers, even Papistry it self (concerning which so many Acts of Parliament were made in K. Hen. 8. and Q. Maries time) must be called *Parliamentarian* also.

And secondly, it is most certain, that in the Parliaments or Com-

non-Councils (call them which you will) both of King *Ina's* time, and the rest of the *Saxon Kings* which *B. Jewel* speaks of; not onely *Bishops, Abbots*, and the higher part of the *Clergy*, but the whole Body of the *Clergy* generally had their votes and suffrages, either in person, or by proxy. Concerning which, take this for the leading Case; That in the Parliament or Common-council in *K. Ethelbert's* time, who first of all the *Saxon Kings*, received the Gospel, the *Clergy* were convened in as full a manner, as the Lay-Subjects of that Prince: *Convocati communi Concilio tam Cleri, quam Populi*, saith *Sr H. Spelman* in his Collection of the Councils, *Ann. 605. p. 118.* And for the Parliament of King *Ina*, which leads the way in *Bishop Jewel*, it was, (saith the same *Sr H. Spelman*, p. 630. *Communi Concilio Episcoporum, Procerum, Comitum, nec non omnium Sapientum, Seniorum, populorumque totius Regni*; Where, doubtless, *Sapientes* and *Seniores* (and you know what *Seniores* signifieth in the Ecclesiastical notion) must be some body else then those which after are expressed by the name of *Populi*, which shews the falshood and absurdity of the collection made by *Mr Pryn*, in the Epistle to his book against *Dr Cousins*, viz. That the Parliament (as it is now constituted) hath an ancient, genuine, just and lawful Prerogative, to establish true Religion in our Church, and to abolish and suppress all false, new, and counterfeited Doctrines whatsoever. Unlesse he means upon the post-fact, after the Church hath done her part, in determining what was true, what false, what new, what ancient; and finally, what Doctrines might be counted counterfeit, and what sincere. And as for Law, 'tis true indeed, that by the Statute, 1 *Eliz. cap. 1.* The Court of Parliament hath power to determine and judge of Heresie; which at first sight seems somewhat strange; but on the second view, you will easily finde that this relates onely to new and emergent Heresies, not formerly declared for such in any of the first four General Councils, nor in any other General Council, adjudging by expresse words of holy Scripture; as also that in such new H-ries, the following words restrain this power to the Assent of the Clergy in their Convocation, as being best able to instruct the Parliament what they are to do, and where they are to make use of the secular sword for cutting off a desperate Heretick from the Church of CHRIST, or rather from the body of all Christian people.

5. Of the Reformation of the Church of England in the Formes of
Worship; and the Times appointed thereunto.

THis rub removed, we now proceed unto a view of such Formes of Worship as have been settled in this Church, since the first dawning of the day of Reformation, in which our *Parliaments* have indeed done somewhat, though it be not much. The first point which was altered in the publike Liturgies, was that the *Creed*, the *Pater-noster*, and the *Ten Commandments*, were ordered to be said in the English Tongue; to the intent, the people might be perfect in them, and learn them without book, as our phrase is. The next, the setting forth and using of the *English Letany*, on such dayes and times, in which it was accustomed to be read, as a part of the service. But neither of these two was done by *Parliament*; nay, (to say truth) the *Parliament* did nothing in them. All which was done in either of them, was onely by the Kings Authority, by vertue of the *Headship* or *Supremacy*, which by way of recognition was vested in him by the Clergy, either co-operating and concurring with them in their *Convocations*, or else directed and assisted by such learned *Prelates*, with whom he did advise in matters which concerned the Church, and did relate to Reformation. By vertue of which *Headship* or *Supremacy* he ordained the first; and to that end, caused certain *Articles* or *Injunctions* to be published by the Lord *Cromwel*, then his *Vicar General*, Anno 1536. And by the same did he give order for the second, I mean, for the saying of the *Letany* in the *English Tongue*, by his own Royal Proclamation, Anno 1545. For which, consult the *Acts* and *Monuments*, fol. 1248, 1312. But these were only preparations to a greater work which was reserved unto the times of K. *Edw.* 6. In the beginning of whose Reign there passed a *Statute* for the administering the *Sacrament* in both kinds to any person that should devoutly and humbly desire the same, 1 E. 6. c. 1. In which it is to be observed, that though the *statute* do declare, that the ministring of the same in both kinds to the people was more agreeable to the first Institution of the said *Sacrament*, and to the common usage of the primitive Times. Yet Mr *Fox* assures us (and we may take his word) that they did build that Declaration, and consequently the Act which was raised upon it, upon the judgment and opinion of the best learned

ned men, whose resolution and advice they followed in it, fol. 1489. And for the Form by which the said most blessed Sacrament was to be delivered to the common people, it was commended to the care of the most grave and learned Bishops, and others, assembled by the King at His Castle of *Windsor*; who upon long, wise, learned, and deliberate advice did finally agree (saith Fox) upon one godly and uniform Order for receiving of the same, according to the right rule of Scriptures, and the first use of the primitive Church, fol. 1491. Which Order, as it was set forth in print, Anno 1548. with a Proclamation in the name of the King, to give authority thereunto amongst the people, so was it recommended by especial Letters writ unto every Bishop, severally from the Lords of the Council to see the same put in execution; A copy of which Letters you may finde in Fox, fol. 1491. as afore is said.

Hitherto nothing done by Parliament in the Formes of Worship, but in the following year there was. For the Protector and the rest of the Kings Council being fully bent for a Reformation, thought it expedient that one uniform, quiet and godly Order should be had throughout the Realm, for Officiating Gods divine Service. And to that end (I use the words of the Act it self) appointed the Archbishop of Canterbury, and certain of the most learned and discreet Bishops, and other learned men of the Realm to meet together, requiring them, that having a swel eye and respect to the most pure and sincere Christian Religion, taught in Scriptures, as to the usages in the Primitive Church, they should draw and make one convenient and meet Order, Rite and fashion of Common Prayer, and Administration of Sacraments, to be had and used in this his Majesties Realm of England. Well, what did they being thus assembled? that the Statute tells us: Where it is said, that by the aid of the Holy Ghost (I pray you mark this well) and with one uniform agreement they did conclude upon and set forth an Order, which they delivered to the Kings Highness, in a Book entituled, *The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, after the use of the Church of England*. All this was done before the Parliament did any thing. But what was done by them at last? Why first, considering the most godly travail of the Kings Highness, and the Lord Protector and others of his Highness Council, in gathering together the said B. and learned men. Secondly, the Godly prayers, Orders, Rites and Ceremonies

monies in the said Book mentioned. Thirdly, the motives and
 inducements which inclined the aforesaid learned men to alter
 those things which were altered, and to retain those things
 which were retained; And finally, taking into consideration
 the honour of God, and the great quietness which by the grace
 of God would ensue upon it; they gave his Majesty most hearty
 and lowely thanks for the same, and most humbly prayed him,
 that it might be ordained by his Majesty, with the assent of the Lords
 and Commons assembled in Parliament, and by authority of the same, that
 the said Form of Common-prayer and another, after the Feast of
 Pentecost next following, should be used in all his Majesties Dominions
 with several penalties to such, as either should deprave or neglect the same.
 2. and 3. E. 6. cap. 1. So farre the very words of the Act it self.
 By which it evidently appeareth, that the two Houses of Parliament
 did nothing in the present business, but impose that Form upon the
 people: which by the learned & religious Clergy-men (whom the K.
 appointed thereunto) was agreed upon, and made it penal unto
 such as either should deprave the same, or neglect to use it. And
 thus doth Poulton (no mean Lawyer) understand the Statute,
 who therefore gives no other title to it in his *Abridgement* publish'd
 in the year 1612 than this, *The penalty for not using uniformity of Ser-*
vice, and Ministraton of the Sacrament. So then the making of one uni-
 form Order of celebrating divine Service, was the work of the Clergy,
 the making of the Penalties, was the work of the Parliament. Where
 let me tell you by the way, that the men who were employed in
 this weighty business (whose names deserve to be continued in
 perpetual memory) were Thomas Cranmer Archbishop of Canter-
 bury, George Day Bishop of Chichester, Thomas Goodrich B. of Ely
 and Lord Chancellour, John Skip Bishop of Hereford, Henry Hol-
 bert Bishop of Lincoln, Nicholas Ridley Bishop of Rochester, transla-
 ted afterwards to London, Thomas Thirleby B. of Westminster, Do-
 ctor May Dean of S. Pauls, Dr Taylor (then Dean afterwards) Bp of
 Lincoln, Dr Haines Dean of Exeter, Dr Robertson afterwards Dean
 of Durham, Dr Redman Master of Trinity Colledge in Cambridge,
 and Dr Coke then Almoner to the King, afterward Dean of Westmin-
 ster, and at last Bp of Ely; men famous in their generations, and
 the honour of the Age they lived in: And so much for the first
 Liturgy

Liturgy of King *Edwards* Reign; in which you see how little was done by authority or power of Parliament, so little, that if it had been less, it had been just nothing. But some exceptions being taken against the Liturgy by some of the *preciser* sort at home, and by *Calvin* abroad, the book was brought under a review: and though it had been framed at first (if the Parliament which said so erred not) by the aid of the Holy Ghost himself; yet to comply with the curiosity of the Ministers and mistakes of the people, rather than for any other weighty cause, As the Statute 5 and 6 *Ed. 6. cap. 1.* it was thought expedient by the King, with the assent of the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, that the said Order of Common Service should be faithfully and godly perused, explained, and made fully perfect.

Perused and explained; by whom? Why, questionless by those who made it; or else, by those (if they were not the same men) who were appointed by the King to draw up, and compose a Form of Ordination for the use of the Church. And this Assent of theirs (for it was no more) was the only part that was ever acted by the Parliament, in matter of this present nature; save that a Statute passed in the former Parliament 3 and 4 *Ed. 6. c. 12.* unto this effect, that such form and manner of making and consecrating Archb. Bi-shops, Priests, Deacons, and other Ministers of the Church (which before I spake of) as by sixe Prelates and sixe other men of this Realm, learned in Gods lawes, by the King to be appointed and assigned, shall be devised to that purpose, and set forth under the great Seal, shall be lawfully used and exercised, and none other. Where note, that the King only was to nominate and appoint the men, the Bishops and other learned men were to make the Book; and that the Parliament in a blinde obedience, or at the least upon a charitable confidence in the integrity of the men so nominated, did confirm that Book, before any of their Members had ever seen it, though afterwards indeed, in the following Parliament, this Book, together with the book of Common-prayer, so printed and explained, obtained a more formal confirmation, as to the use thereof throughout the Kingdom, but in no other respect; for which see the Statute 5 and 6 *Ed. 6. c. 1.* (As for the time of *Qu. Elizabeth*, when the Common prayer book now in use (being the same almost with the last of King *Edward*) was to be brought again into the Church, from whence it was cast out in *Queen Maries* Reign; it was committed

mitted to the care of some learned men; that is to say, to M *Whitehead* (once Chaplain to Queen *Anne Bullen*) Dr *Parker*, after Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Dr *Grindal*, after bishop of *London*, Dr *Con*, after Bishop of *Ely*, Dr *Pilkington*, after Bishop of *Durham*, Dr *May*, Dean of *Saint Pauls*, Dr *Bill*, Provost of *Eaton*, after Dean of *Westminster*, and Sr *Tho: Smith*. By whom being altered in some few passages which the Statute points to, 1 *Elix.* c. 21. it was presented to the Parliament, and by the Parliament received and established without more ado, or troubling any Committee of both or either Houses to consider of it, for ought appears in their Records. All that the Parliament did in it, being to put it into the condition in which it stood before in King *Edwards* Reign, partly by repealing the Repeal of King *Edw.* Statutes, made in the first of *Q. Mary*, c. 2. and partly by the adding of some farther penalties on such as did deprave the book, or neglect to use it, or wilfully did absent themselves from their Parish-Churches. And for the Alterations made in King *James* his time, being small in the Rubrick onely; and for the additions of the *Thanksgivings* at the end of the *Letany*, the Prayer for the Queen and the Royal Issue, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments at the end of the *Catechisme*, which were not in the book before, they were never referred unto the Parliament, but were done onely by authority of the Kings Commission, and stand in force by vertue onely of His Proclamation, which you may finde before the book; the charge of buying the said book so explained and altered, being laid upon the severall and respective Parishes, by no other Authority than that of the eightieth Canon, made in Convocation, Anno 1603. The like may also be affirmed of the *Formes* of prayer for the *Inauguration* day of our Kings and Queens, the Prayer-books for the fifth of *November*, and the fifth of *August*, and those which have been used in all publike *Fasts*: All which, without the help of Parliaments, have been composed by the Bishops, and imposed by the King.

Now unto this discourse of the *Forms of Worship*, I shall subjoyn a word or two of the times of *Worship*, that is to say, the *Holy dayes* observed in the Church of *England*; and so observed, that they do owe that observation chiefly to the Churches power. For whereas it was found in the former times, that the number of the holy dayes was grown so great, that they became a burthen to the
 cures

common people, and a great hinderance to the thrift and manufatures of the Kingdom; there was a Canon made in the Convocation, *An. 1536.* for cutting off of many superstitious and superfluous Holy dayes, and the reducing them into the number in which they now stand (save that *St. George's day*, and *Mary Magdalens day*, and all the Festivals of the blessed Virgin had their place amongst them) according to which Canon, there went out a *Monitory* from the Archbp of *Casterbury*, to all the Suffragans of his Province, respectively to see the same observed in their severall Diocesses, which is still extant on Record. But being the authority of the Church was then in the wane, it was thought necessary to confirm their Acts, and see execution done upon it by the Kings Injunction: which did accordingly come forth with this Form or preamble; *That the abolishing of the said holy dayes, was decreed ordained and established by the Kings Highness Authority, as supreme Plead in earth of the Church of England, with the common consent and assent of the Prelates and Clergy of this his Realm in Convocation lawfully assembled and congregate.* Of which see *Foxe his Acts and Monuments*, fol. 1246, 1247. Afterwards in the year 1541, the King perceiving with what difficulty the people were induced to leave off those Holy days, to which they had been so long accustomed, published his *Proclamation* of the twenty third of July, for the abolishing of such Holy days (amongst other things) as were prohibited before by his Injunctions: both built upon the same foundation, namely, the resolution of the Clergy in their Convocation.

And so it stood until the Reign of King E. 6. at which time the Reformation of the publick Liturgie drew after it by consequence an alteration in the present businesse, no days being to be kept or accounted holy, but those for which the Church had set apart a peculiar office, and not all those neither: For, whereas there are several and peculiar offices for the day of the *Conversion of Saint Paul*, and the day of *Saint Barnabas* the Apostles; neither of these are kept as holy days, nor reckoned or esteemed as such in the Act of Parliament wherein the names and number of the holy days is precisely specified, which makes some think the Act of Parliament to have had an over-ruling power on the *Common prayer Book*; but it is not so, there being a specification of the holy days in the book it self, with this direction, *These to be observed for Holy days, and none other*; in which the Feasts of the *Conversion of St. Paul*, and the

Apostle *Barnabas* are omitted plainly; and upon which specification the Stat. 5 & 6 Ed. 6. cap. 3. which concerns the *holy days*, seems most expressly to be built. And for the *Offices* on those days in the *Common-prayer Booke*, you may please to know that every *holy day* consisted of two special parts, that is to say, rest or cessation from bodily labour, and celebration of Divine or Religious duties; and that the days before remembered are so far kept holy, as to have still their proper and peculiar *Offices*, which is observed in all the *Cathedrals* of this Kingdome, and the *Chappels Royal*, where the Service is read every day; and in most *Parish Churches* also, as oft as either of them falls upon a *Sunday*, though the people be not in those days enjoined to rest from bodily labour, no more then on the *Coronation day*, or the fifth of *November*, which yet are reckoned by the people for a kind of *holy days*. Put all which hath been said together, and the summe is this; That the proceedings of this Church in the Reformation were not meerly *Regall* (as it is objected by some *Paritians*) much lesse that they were *Parliamentarian* in so great a work, as the *Papists* falsly charge upon us, the *Parliaments* for the most part doing little in it, but that they were directed in a justifiable way, the work being done *Synodically*, by the *Clergy*, onely, according to the usage of the *Primitive* times, the King concurring with them, and corroborating what they had resolved on, either by his own single Act in his letters Patent. *Proclamations* and *Injunctions* or by some publick Act of State, as in times, and by Acts of *Parliament*.

6. *Of the power of making Canons, for the well ordering of the Clergy, and the directing of the people in the publick Duties of Religion.*

WE are now come to the last part of this design, unto the power of making *Canons*, in which the *Parliament* of *England* have had lesse to do then in either of the other which are gone before. Concerning which, I must desire you to remember, that the *Clergie*, who had power before to make such *Canons* and *Constitutions* in their *Convocation* as to them seemed meet, promised the King in *verbo Sacerdotij*, not to Enact or Execute any new *Canons*, but by his Majesties Royal Assent, and by his authority first obtained in that behalf: which is thus briefly touched upon in the *Ant. Brit.* in the life of *William Marham* Arch. Bp of *Canterbury*, *Clerici in verbo Sacerdotij fidem Regi dedit, ne ullas deinceps in Synodo*

nodo ferrent Ecclesiasticas leges, nisi ex Synodis auctoritate Regia congregata, et constitutiones in Synodis publicata eadem auctoritate rata essent. Upon which ground I doubt not but I might securely raise this proposition, That whatsoever the Clergy did, or might do lawfully before the act of *Submission* in their *Convocation* of their own power, without the Kings authority and consent concurring, the same they can, and may do still, since the act of their *Submission*; the Kings authority and consent co-operating with them in their counsels, and giving confirmation to their Constitutions, as was said before. Further, it doth appear by the aforesaid Act. 25. H.8.c. 19. That all such *Canons, Constitutions, Ordinances, and Synodals Provincial*, as were made before the said *Submission*, which be not contrary or repugnant to the Laws, Statutes and Customs of this Realm, nor to the damage or hurt of the Kings Prerogative Royal, were to be used and executed as in former times. "And by the Statute 26. H.8.c. 1. of the Kings *Supremacy*, that according to the *Recognition* made in *Convocation*) our said Sovereign Lord, his heirs and successors, Kings of this Realm, shall have full power and authority from time to time to visit, repress, reform, order, correct, &c. all such Errors, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities whatsoever they be, &c. as may be most to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of virtue in *Christs* Religion, and for the peace, unity, and tranquillity of this Realm, and the confirmation of the same. So that you see these several ways of ordering matters for the Publick weal and governance of the Church; First by such ancient *Canons* and Constitutions, as being made in former times, are still in force; Secondly, by such new *Canons* as are, or shall be made in *Convocation*, with, and by the Kings Consent; And Thirdly, by the authority of the Sovereign Prince, according to the Precedents laid down in the book of God, and the best ages of the Church, Concerning which you must remember what was said before, viz. That the Statutes which concern the Kings Supremacy are *Declaratory* of an old power onely, not *Introductory* of a new; which said, we shall the better see whether the Parliament have had any thing to do either in making Canons, or prescribing Orders for the regulating of *Spiritual* and *Ecclesiastical* matters, and unto whom the same doth of right belong according to the Laws of the Realm of England.

And first, King *Henry* being restored to his *Headship* of *Supremacy* (call it which you will) did not conceive himself so absolute in it (though at the first much enamoured of it) as not sometimes to take his *Convo-*

cation with him, but at all times to be advised by his *Prelates*, when he had any thing to do that concerned the Church; for which there had been no provision made by the *Ancient Canons*, grounding most times, his *Edicts* and *Injunctions* Royal, upon their advice and resolution. For on this ground, I mean the judgement and conclusions of his *Convocation*, did he set out the *Injunctions* of the year 1536. for the abolishing of superstitious Holy days, the exterminating of the *Popes* authority, the publishing of the book of Articles, which before we spake of *num. 8.* by all Parsons, Vicars and Curates; for preaching down the use of Images, Reliques, Pilgrimages and superstitious Miracles; for rehearsing openly in the Church, in the *English tongue*, the *Creed*, the *Pater noster*, and the ten Commandements; for the due and reverend ministering of the Sacraments and Sacramentals; for providing *English Bibles* to be set in every Church for the use of the people; for the regular and sober life of *Clergy* men, and the relief of the poor. And on the other side, the King proceeded sometimes onely by the advice of his *Prelates*, as in the *Injunctions* of the year 1538. for quarterly Sermons in each Parish; for admitting none to preach but men sufficiently Licenced; for keeping a Register book of Christnings, Weddings, and Burials; for the due paying of Tithes, as had been accustomed; for the abolishing of the commemoration of *St. Thomas Becket*; For singing a *Parce nobis Domine*, in stead of *Ora pro nobis*, and the like to these. And of this sort were the *Injunctions* which came out in some years succeeding, for the taking away of *Images* and *Reliques*, with all the Ornaments of the same; and all the Monuments and writings of feigned Miracles, and for restraint of offering or setting up Lights in any Churches, but onely to the *Blessed Sacrament of the Altar*, in which he was directed chiefly by Archbishop *Cranmer*; as also those for eating of white meats in the time of Lent, the abolishing the Fast on *St. Marks* day, and the ridiculous (but superstitious sports accustomedly used on the days of *St. Clement*, *St. Catherine* and *St. Nicholas*. All which and more was done in the said Kings Reign without help of Parliament. For which I shall refer you to the *Acts* and *Mon. fol. 1385, 1425. 1441.* The like may also be affirmed of the *Injunctions* published in the name of *K. E. 6. An. 1547.* and printed also then for the use of the Subjects; And of the several Letters missive which went forth in his Name, prohibiting the bearing of Candles one *Candlemas* day; of Ashes in *Lent*, and of Palms on *Palm-sunday*; for the taking down of all the Images throughout the Kingdom;

for administering the Communion in both kinds, dated *March 13. 1548.* for abrogating of private Masses, *June 24. 1549.* for bringing in all *Mis-
sals, Graduals, Processionals, Legends and Ordinals* about the latter end
of *December* of the same year: for taking down of Altars, and setting
up Tables in stead thereof, *An. 1550.* and the like to these. All which
particulars you have in *Foxes* book of *Act*, and *Mon.* in *King Edwards*
life, which whether they were done of the Kings meer motion, or by ad-
vice of his Council, or by consultation with his Bishops (for there is lit-
tle left upon Record of the *Convocations* of that time, more then the Ar-
ticles of the year 1552) certain I am that there was nothing done, nor
yet pretended to be done in all these particulars by the authority of *Parlia-
ment.*

Thus also in *Qu. Elizabeths* time, before the new Bishops were well
settled, and the Queen assured of the affections of her *Clergy*, she went that
way to work in the *Reformation*, which not onely her two Predecessors,
but all the Godly Kings and Princes in the *Jewish State*, and many of the
Christian Emperours in the *Primitive* times had done before her, in the
well ordering of the Church and people committed to their care and go-
vernment by Almighty God; and to that end she published her *Injuncti-
ons*, *An. 1559.* A book of *Orders*, *An. 1561.* Another of *Advertiser-
ments*, *An. 1562.* All tending unto *Reformation*, unto the building up of
the new *Jerusalem*, with the advise and counsel of the Metropolitan, and
some other godly *Prelates*, who were then about her, by whom they
were agreed on and subscribed unto, before they were presented to her,
without the least concurrence of her Court of *Parliament.* But when
the times were better settled, and the first difficulties of her Reign pas-
sed over, she left *Church work* to the disposing of *Church-men*, who by
their place and calling were most proper for it; and they being met in *Con-
vocation*, and thereto authorized as the laws required, did make and pub-
lish several books of *Canons*, as viz. 1571. *An. 1584.* *An. 1597.* Which
being confirmed by the Queen under the broad seal of *England*, were in
force of *Laws* to all intents and purposes which they were first made; but
being confirmed without those formal words, *Her Heirs and Successors*,
are not binding now, but expired together with the Queen. No *Act* of
Parliaments required to confirm them then, nor never required ever since,
on the like occasion. A fuller evidence whereof we cannot have, then in
the *Canons* of the year, 1603, being the first year of *King James*, made by
the *Clergie*, onely in the *Convocation*, and confirmed onely by the *King*.

for though the old *Canons* were in force, which had been made before the submission of the *Clergie*, as before I shewed you, which served in all these wavering and unsettled times, for the perpetual standing rule of the Churches government; yet many new emergent cases did require new rules, and whilst there is a possibility of *Malimores*; there will be a necessity of *bona Leges*. Now in the confirmation of these *Canons* we shall find it thus, That the *Clergie* being met in their *Convocation*, according to the Tenour and effect of his Majesties Writ, his Majesty was pleased by virtue of his *Prerogativa Royal* and *Supream authority* in causes *Ecclesiastical*, to give and grant unto them by his Letters Patents dated *Apr. 12. and Jun. 25.* full, free, and lawfull liberty, licence, power and authority, to convene, treat, debate, consider, consult, and agree upon such *Canons, Orders, Ordinances, and Constitutions*, as they should think necessary, fit and convenient for the honor and service of Almighty God, the good and quiet of the Church, and the better government thereof from time to time, &c. to be kept by all persons within this Realm, as far as lawfully, being members of the Church it may concern them, which being agreed on by the *Clergie*, and by them presented to the King, humbly requiring him to give his royal assent unto them, according to the Statute made in the 25 of *K. H. 8.* and by his Majesties *Prerogative* and *Supream authority* in *Ecclesiastical* causes to ratifie and confirm the same, his Majesty was graciously pleased to confirm and ratifie them by his Letters Patents, for himself, his heirs, and lawfull successours, straightly commanding and requiring all his loving Subjects, diligently to observe, execute, and keep the same in all points, wherein they do or may concern all or any of them, No running to the *Parliament* to confirm these *Canons*, nor any question made till this present by temperate and knowing men, that there wanted any act for their confirmation which the law could give them.

7. An Answer to the main Objections of either Party.

But against this, all which hath been said before, it will be objected; That being the Bishops of the Church are fully and wholly *Parliamentary*, and have no more authority and jurisdiction, *nisi a Parlamento derivatum*, but that which is conferred upon them by the power of *Parliaments*, as both *Sanders* and *Schellingius* do expressly say, what-

soever they shall do or conclude upon, either in *Convocation*, or in more private *conferences* may be called *Parliamentarian* also. And this last calumny they build on the several Statutes 24. *H. 8. c. 12.* touching the manner of *setting and consecrating Arch-Bishops and Bishops*, that of the 1 *E. 6. c. 2.* appointing how they shall be chosen, and what seals they shall use; these of 3 and 4 *Ed. 6. c. 12. & 5 & 6. E. 6.* for *authorizing of the book of Ordination*. But chiefly that of the 8 *Eliz. c. 1.* for making good all Acts since 1 *Eliz.* in *consecrating any Arch-Bishop or Bishop within this Realm*. To give a general answer to each several cavil, you may please to know; that the Bishops as they now stand in the Church of England, derive their calling together with their authority and power in Spiritual matters, from no other hands, then those of *Christ* and his *Apostles*, their *Temporal* honors and possessions, from the bounty and affection onely of our Kings & Princes, their *Ecclesiastical* jurisdiction in causes *Matrimonial*, *Testamentary* and the like, for which no action lieth at the *common Law*, from continuall usage and prescription; and ratified and continued unto them in the *Magna Charta* of this Realm, and ow no more unto the *Parliament* than all sort of subjects do besides, whose fortunes and estates have been occasionally and collaterally confirmed in *Parliament*. And as for the particular Statutes which are touched upon, that of the 24. *H. 8.* doth only constitute and ordain a way by which they might be chose and consecrated, without recourse to *Rome* for a *confirmation*, which formerly had put the *Prelates* to great charge and trouble; but for the *form* and manner of their *consecration*, the *Statute* leaves it to these *Rites* and *Ceremonies* wherewith before it was performed, and therefore *Sanders* doth not stick to affirm, that all the Bishops which were made in King *Henries* days were lawfully and Canonically ordained and consecrated, the Bishops of that time, not onely being acknowledged in Queen *Maries* days for lawfull and Canonical Bishops; but called on to assist at the consecration of such other Bishops (*Cardinal Pool* himself for one) as were promoted in her *Reign*, whereof see *Masons* book *de Ministr. Angl.* c. . . Next for the Statute 1 *E. 6. cap. 2.* besides that it is satisfied in part by the former Answer as it relates to their *Canonical Consecrations*, it was repeald to *Terminus* in the first of Queene *Maries* *Reigne*, and never stood in force nor practise to this day. That of the authorizing of the booke of *Ordination* in two severall *Parliaments* of that King, the one *a parte ante*, and the

the other a *parte post*, as before I told you, might indeed seeme somewhat to the purpose, if any thing were wanting in it which had beene used in the *formula's* of the *Primitive times*, or if the book had been composed in *Parliament*, or by *Parliament men*, or otherwise received more authority from them, then that it might be lawfully used and exercised throughout the Kingdome. But it is plain, that none of these things were objected in *Queen Maries* dayes, when the *papists* stood most upon their points, the *Ordinal* being not called in, because it had too much of the *parliament*, but because it had too little of the *pope*, and relished too strongly of the *primitive piety*. And for the Statute of 8 of *Qu. Elizabeth*, which is chiefly stood on, all that was done therein was no more then this, and on this occasion. A question had been made by captious and unquiet men, and amongst the rest by Doctor *Bonner*, sometimes Bishop of *London*, whether the Bishops of those times were lawfully ordained or not; the reason of the doubt being this (which I marvell *Mason* did not see) because the book of *Ordination* which was annulled and abrogated in the first of *Queen Mary*, had not been yet restored, and revived by any legal Act of *Qu. Elizabeths* time; which Cause being brought before the *parliament* in the 8 year of her Reign, the *parliament* took notice first, that their not restoring of that booke to the former power in terms significant and expresse, was but *Casus omissus*, and then declare, that by the Statute 5 and 6 *E. 6.* it had been added to the book of *Common-prayer* and Administration of the Sacraments, as a member of it, at least as an Appendant to it, and therefore by the Statute 1 *Eliz. c. 2.* was restored again together with the said book of *Common-prayer*, intentionally at the least, if not in *Terminis*. But being the words in the said Statute were not clear enough to remove all doubts, they therefore did revive now, and did accordingly enact, *That whatsoever had been done by vertue of that Ordination, should be good in Law*. This is the total of the Statute, and this shews rather in my judgement, that the Bishops of the *Queens* first times had too little of the *Parliament* in them, then that they were conceived to have had too much. And so I come to your last Objection, which concerns the *Parliament*, whose entertaining all occasions to manifest their power in *Ecclesiasticall* matters, doth seeme to you to make that groundlesse slander of the *papists* the more fair and plausible.

'Tis true, indeed, that many *Members* of both Houses in these latter Times, have been very ready to embrace all businesses which are offered to them, out of a probable hope of drawing the managery of all Affairs, as well *Ecclesiastical* as *Civil*, into their own hands. And some there are, who being they cannot hope to have their fancies authorized in a regular way, do put them upon such designs, as neither can consist with the nature of *Parliaments*, nor the authority of the King, nor with the priviledges of the Clergy; nor, to say truth, with the esteem and reputation of the Church of Christ. And this hath been a practice even as old as *Wickliffe*, who in the time of K. R. 2. addressed his Petition to the *Parliament* (as we read in *Walsingham*) for the reformation of the Clergy, the rooting out of many false and erroneous *Tenents*, and for establishing of his own Doctrines (who though he had some *Wheat*, had more *Tares* by ods) in the Church of England. And lest he might be thought to have gone a way, as dangerous and unjustifiable, as it was strange and new, he laid it down for a position, That the *Parliament*, or *Temporal Lords* (where by the way this ascribes no authority or power at all to the House of Commons) might lawfully examine and reform the Disorders and Corruptions of the Church, and a discovery of the errors and corruptions of it, devest her of all Tithes and Temporal endowments, till she were reformed. But for all this, and (more then this) for all he was so strongly backed by the Duke of Lancaster, neither his Petition nor his Position found any welcome in the *Parliament*, further then that it made them cast many a longing eye on the Churches patrimony; or produced any other effect towards the work of reformation, which he chiefly aimed at, then that it hath since served for a precedent to *Penry*, *Pryn*, and such like troublesome and unquiet spirits, to disturb the Church, and set on foot those dreams and dotages, which otherwise they durst not publish. And to say truth, as long as the Clergy were in power, and had authority in Convocation to do what they would in matters which concerned Religion; those of the *Parliament* conceived it neither safe nor fitting to intermeddle in such business as concerned the Clergy, for fear of being questioned for it at the Churches Bar. But when that Power

was lessened (though it were not lost) by the *submission* of the *Clergy* to K. H. 8. and by the *Act of the Supremacy* which ensued upon it; then did the *Parliaments* begin to intrench upon the *Churches Rights*, to offer at, and entertain such businesses, as formerly were held peculiar to the *Clergy* only; next, to dispute their *charters* and reverse their *priviledges*; and finally, to impose some hard *Lawes* upon them. And of these notable incroachments, *Matthew Parker* thus complains in the life of *Cranmer*, *Qua Ecclesiasticarum legum potestate abdicata, populus in Parlamento caput de rebus divinis inconsulto Clero Sancire, tum absentis Cerei privilegia sensim detrahere, juraq; duriora quibus Clerus invitus teneretur, Constituere.* But these were only *tentamenta*, offers and undertakings only, and no more then so. Neither the *Parliaments* of K. *Edward*, or Q. *Elizabeths* time knew what it was to make *Committees* for *Religion*, or thought it fit that *Uzzah* should support the *Ark*, though he saw it tottering. That was a work belonging to the *Levites* only, none of the other *Tribes* were to meddle with it. But as the *Puritan Faction* grew more strong and active, so they applied themselves more openly to the *Houses of Parliament*, but specially to the *House of Commons*; putting all power into their hands, as well in *Ecclesiastical* and *spiritual Causes*, as in matters *Temporal*. This, amongst others, confidently affirmed by Mr. *Pryn*, in the *Epistle* to his book called *Anti-Arminianism*, where he avers, *That all our Bishops, our Ministers, our Sacraments, our Consecration, our Articles of Religion, our Homilies, Common-prayer Book, yea, and all the Religion of the Church, is no other way publicly received, supported, or established amongst us, but by Acts of Parliament.* And this not only since the time of the *Reformation*, but that *Religion and Church affairs* were determined, ratified, declared, and ordered by *Act of Parliament*, and no waies else, even then when *Papery* and *Church-men* had the greatest sway. Which strange assertion falling from the pen of so great a *Scribe*, was forthwith cheerfully received amongst our *Pharisees*, who hoped to have the highest places, not only in the *Synagogue*, but the *Court of Sanhedrim*, advancing the *Authority of Parliaments* to so high a pitch, that by degrees they fastened on them, both an *infallibility* of judgement, and an *omnipotency* of power. Nor can it be denied (to deal

deal truly with you) but that they met with many apt *scholars* in that House, who either out of a desire to bring all the grist to their own *Mill*, or willing to enlarge the great power of *Parliaments*, by making new *precedents* for Posterity, or out of *faction*, or *affection*, or what else you please, began to put their Rules in practise, and draw all matters whatsoever within the cognizance of that Court; In which their embracements were at last so general, and that humour in the House so prevalent; that one being once demanded, what they did amongst them, returned this answer, *That they were making a new Creed*: Another being heard to say, *That he could not be quiet in his conscience, till the holy Text should be confirmed by an Act of theirs*: Which passages, if they be not true and real, (as I have them from an honest hand) I assure you they are bitter jests. But this, although indeed it be the sicknesse and disease of the present Times, and little to the honour of the Court of *Parliament*, can be no prejudice at all to the way and means of the *Reformation*; amongst sober and discerning men, the *Doctrine* of the *Church* being settled, the *Liturgy* published and confirmed, the *Canons* authorized and executed, when no such humour was predominant, nor no such power pretended to, by both or either of the Houses of *Parliament*.

But here perhaps it will be said that we are fallen into *Charybdis* by avoiding *Scylla*, and that endeavouring to stop the mouth of this *Popish* Calumny, we have set open a wide gap to another no lesse scandalous of the *Presbyterians*; who being as professed enemies of the Kings as the Popes *Supremacy*, and noting that strong influence which the King hath had in *Ecclesiastical* affairs since the first attempts for *Reformation*, have charg'd it as reproachfully on the Church of *England*, and the Religion here established, that it is *Regal* at the best if not *Parliamentarian*, and may be called a *Regal-Faith*, and a *Regal-Gospel*. But the Answer unto this is easie. For first the Kings intended by the Objectors, did not act much in order to the *Reformation* (as appears by that which hath been said) but either by the advice and cooperation of the whole Clergy of the Realm in their Convocations, or by the Counsel and consent of the Bishops and most eminent

Church-men in particular Conferences: which made it properly the work of the Clergy only, the Kings no otherwise then as it was propounded by him, or finally confirmed by the Civil Sanction. And secondly, had they done more in it then they did, they had been warranted so to do by the Word of God; who hath committed unto Kings and soveraign Princes a Supreme or supereminent power, not only in all matters of a Temporal, or secular nature, but in such as do concern Religion and the Church of *Christ*. And so *S Augustine* hath resolved it in his third Book against *Cresconius*. *In hoc Reges sicut iis divinitus precipitur: (pray you note that well) Deo serviunt in quantum Reges sunt, si in suo Regno bona jubeant, mala prohibeant, non solum quæ pertinent ad humanam societatem, verum etiam ad Divinam Religionem.* Which words of his seemed so significant and convincing unto *Hart the Jesuite*, that being shewed the Tractate writ by *Dr. Nowell* against *Dorman* the Priest in the beginning of *Q Elizabeths* time, and finding how the case was stated by that reverend person, he did ingenuously confesse, that there was no authority ascribed to the Kings of *England* in Ecclesiastical affairs, but what was warranted unto them by that place of *Augustine*. The like affirmed by him that calleth himself *Franciscus de S. Clara*, though a *Jesuite* too (that you may see how much more candid and ingenuous the *Jesuites* are in this point then the *Presbyterians*) in his *Examen* of the *Articles* of the Church of *England*. But hereof you may give me opportunity to speak more hereafter, when you propose the Doubts which you say you have, relating to the King, the Pope, and the Churches *Protestants*, and therefore I shall say no more of it at the present time.

S E C T. II.

The manner of the Reformation of the Church of England declared and justified.

Hitherto I had gone in order to your satisfaction and communicated my conceptions in writing to you, when I received your letter of the 4. of *January*, in which you signified the high contentment I had given you, in condescending to your weaknesse, (as you pleased to call it) and freeing you from those doubts which lay heaviest on you. And therewithall you did request me to give you leave to propound those other *Scruples* which were yet behinde, relating to the King, the Pope and the *Protestant Churches*, either too little or too much looked after in the *Reformation*. And first you say it is complained of by some *Zelots* of the *Church of Rome*, that the Pope was very hardly and unjustly dealt with in being deprived of the *Supremacy* so long enjoyed and exercised by his predecessors, and that it was an *innovation* no lesse strange then dangerous to settle it upon the King. 2. That the *Church of England* ought not to have proceeded to a *Reformation* without the Pope, considered either as the *Patriarch* of the *Western world*, or the *Apostle* in particular of the *English Nation*. 3. That if a *Reformation* had been found so necessary, it ought to have been done by a *General Council*, at least with the consent and co-operation of the *Sister-Churches*, especially of those who were engaged at the same time in the same designs. 4. That in the carrying on of the *Reformation* the Church proceeded very unadvisedly, in letting the people have the *Scriptures* and the publique *Liturgie* in the vulgar tongue, the dangerous consequents whereof are now grown too visible. 5. That the proceedings in the point of the *Common-prayer Book* were meerly *Regall*, the body of the *Clergy* not consulted with, or consenting to it; and consequently not so *Regular*

as we fain would have it. And 6. That in the power of making Canons and determining matters of the Faith, the Clergy have so fettered and intrangled themselves by the Act of *Submission*, that they can neither meet, deliberate, conclude nor execute, but as they are enabled by the Kings authority, which is a Vassallage inconsistent with their native Liberties, and not agreeable to the usage of the Primitive times. These are the points in which you now desire to have satisfaction, and you shall have it in the best way I am able to do it, that so you may be freed hereafter from such troubles and *Disputants*, as I perceive have laboured to perplex your thoughts, and make you lesse affectionate then formerly to the Church your Mother.

1. *That the Church of England did not innovate in the Ejection of the Pope, and seizing the Supremacy in the Regal Crown.*

And in this point you are to know that it hath been and still is the general and constant judgement of the greatest Lawyers of this Kingdome, that the vesting of the *Supremacy* in the Crown Imperial of this Realm, was not *Introductory* of any new Right or Power which was not in the Crown before, but *Declaratory* of an old, which had been anciently and *originally* inherent in it, though of late Times usurped by the Popes of Rome, and in *Abejance* at that time, as our Lawyers phrase it. And they have so resolved it upon very good reasons: the principal managery of affairs which concern Religion being a flower inseparably annexed to the Regal Diadem, not proper and peculiar only to the Kings of England, but to all Kings and Princes in the Church of God, and by them exercised and enjoyed accordingly in their times and places. For who, I pray you, were the men in the *Jewish Church* who destroyed the *Idols* of that people, cut down the Groves, demolished the high places, and brake in pieces the *Brazen Serpent*, when abused to *Idolatry*? Were they not the godly Kings and Princes only which sway'd the Scepter of that Kingdome? And though 'tis possible enough that they might do it by the counsel and advice
of

of the *High Priests* of that Nation, or of some of the more godly *Priests* and *Levites* (who had a zeal unto the Law of the most high God) yet we finde nothing of it in the holy Scripture; the merit of these *Reformations* which were made occasionally in that faulty *Church*, being ascribed unto their *Kings*, and none but them. Had they done any thing in this which belonged not to their place and calling, or by so doing had intrenched on the Office of the *Priests* and *Levites*, that God who punished *Uzzab* for attempting to support the Arke when he saw it tottering, and smote *Osiab* with a Leprosie for *burning incense* in the Temple (things which the *Priests* and *Levites* only were to meddle in) would not have suffered those good *Kings* to have gone unpunished, or at least uncensured, how good soever their intentions and pretences were. Nay, on the contrary, when any thing was amiss in the *Church* of *Jewry*, the *Kings*, and not the *Priests* were admonished of it, and reprov'd for it by the *Prophets*; which sheweth that they were trusted with the *Reformation*, and none else but they. Is it not also said of *David*, that he distributed the *Priests* and *Levites* into several *Classes*, allotted to them the particular times of their *Ministration*, and designed them unto several Offices in the *publick Service*? *Josephus* adding to these passages of the *Holy Writ*, That he composed *Hymns* and *Songs* to the Lord his God, and made them to be sung in the *Congregation*, as an especial part of the *publick Liturgy*. Of which, although it may be said that he composed those *Songs* and *Hymns* by vertue of his *Prophetical Spirit*, yet he imposed them on the *Church*, appointed *singing-men* to sing them, and prescribed *Vestments* also to these *singing-men*, by no other power then the *regal* only: None of the *Priests* consulted in it, for ought yet appears.

The like authority was exercised and enjoyed by the *Christian Emperors*, not only in their calling *Councils*, and many times assisting at them, or presiding in them by themselves, or their *Deputies*, or *Commissioners*; but also in confirming the *Acts* thereof. He that consults the *Code* and *Nouvelles* in the *Civil Lawes*, will finde the best *Princes* to have been most active in things which did concern *Religion*, in regulating matters of the *Church*, and setting out their

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Imperial Edicts for suppressing of Hereticks. *Quid Imperatori cum Ecclesia?* What hath the Emperor to do in matters which concern the Church? is one of the chief Brand-marks which *Optatus* sets upon the *Donatists*. And though some Christians of the East have in the way of scorn had the name of *Melchites* (men of the Kings Religion, as the word doth intimate), because they adhered unto those *Doctrines* which the Emperors, agreeable to former Councils, had confirmed and ratified: yet the best was, that none but *SeJaries* and Hereticks put that name upon them. Neither the men, nor the Religion was a jot the worse. Nor did they only deal in matters of *Exterior Order*, but even in *Doctrinals*, matters *intrinsecal* to the Faith; for which their *Enoticon* set out by the Emperor *Zeno* for settling differences in Religion, may be proof sufficient.

The like authority was exercised and enjoyed by *Charles the Great*, when he attained the *Western Empire*, as the *Capitulars* published in his Name, and in the names of his Successors, do most clearly evidence; and not much lesse enjoyed and practised by the Kings of *England* in the elder Times, though more obnoxious to the power of the Pope of *Rome*, by reason of his *Apostleship* (if I may so call it): the Christian Faith being first preached unto the *English Saxons*, by such as he employed in that holy Work. The instances whereof dispersed in several places of our *English Histories*, and other Monuments and Records which concern this Church, are handsomely summed up together by *Sir Edward Coke* in the fifth part of his Reports, if I well remember; but I am sure in *Cawdries Case*, entituled, *De Jure Regis Ecclesiastico*. And though *Parsons* (the *Jesuite*) in his Answer unto that Report, hath took much pains to vindicate the Popes Supremacy in this Kingdome, from the first planting of the Gospel among the *Saxons*; yet all he hath effected by it, proves no more then this, That the Popes, by permission of some weak Princes, did exercise a kinde of concurrent jurisdiction here with the Kings themselves, but came not to the full and entire Supremacy, till they had brought all other Kings and Princes of the *Western Empire*; nay, even the Emperors themselves under their command. So that when the Supremacy was recognized by
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the Clergy in their *Convocation* to K. H. 8. it was only the restoring of him to his proper and *original power*, invaded by the Popes of these later Ages; though possibly the *Title* of *supreme Head* seemed to have somewhat in it of an *Innovation*. At which *Title*, when the *Papists* generally and *Calvin* in his *Comment* on the Prophet *Amos*, did seem to be much scandalized, it was with much wisdom changed by Q. Elizabeth into that of *supreme Governour*, which is still in use. And when that also would not down with some queasie stomachs, the Queen her self by her *Injunctions*, published in the first year of her Reign, and the Clergy in their *Book of Articles* agreed upon in *Convocation* about five years after, did declare and signifie, That there was no authority in *sacred matters* contained under that *Title*, but that only *Prerogative* which had been given alwaies to all godly Princes in holy Scriptures by God himself; that is, That they should rule all *Estates* and *degrees* committed to their charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Temporal, and to restrain, with the Civil Sword, the stubborn and evil doers; as also to exclude thereby the Bishop of Rome from having any jurisdiction in the Realm of England, *Artic. 37.* Lay this unto the rest before, and tell me (if you can) what hath been acted by the Kings of England in the Reformation of Religion, but what is warranted unto them by the practise and example of the most godly Kings of Jewry, seconded by the most godly Emperors in the Christian Church, and by the usage also of their own *Predecessors* in this Kingdome, till Papal Usurpation carried all before it. And being that all the Popes pretended to in this Realm was but Usurpation, it was no wrong to take that from him which he had no right to, and to restore it at the last to the proper Owner. Neither *prescription* on the one side, nor *discontinuance* on the other, change the case at all: that noted *Maxim* of our Lawyers that no *prescription* bindes the King (or *Nullum tempus occurrit Regi*, as their own words are) being as good against the Pope, as against the Subject.

This leads me to the second part of this Dispute, the dispossessing of the Pope of that *supreme Power*, so long enjoyed and exercised in this Realm by his *Predecessors*. To which we say that though the pretensions of the Pope were

antient, yet they were not *primitive*: and therefore we may answer in our Saviours words, *Ab initio non fuit sic*, it was not so from the beginning. For it is evident enough in the course of story, that the Pope neither claimed nor exercised any such *Supremacy* within this Kingdome in the first Ages of this Church, nor in many after; till by gaining from the King the *Investiture* of Bishops under *Henry the 1.* the exemption of the Clergy from the Courts of Justice under *Henry the 2.* and the *submission* of King *John* to the See of *Rome*, they found themselves of strength sufficient to make good their Plea. And though by the like artifices, seconded by some Texts of Scripture, which the ignorance of those times encouraged them to abuse as they pleased, they had attained the like *Supremacy* in *France*, *Spain*, and *Germany*, and all the Churches of the West: yet his incroachments were opposed, and his authority disputed upon all occasions, especially as the light of Letters did begin to shine. Insomuch as it was not only determined essentially in the Council of *Constance* (one of the Imperial Cities of *High Germany*) that the Council was above the Pope; and his Authority much curbed by the *Pragmatick Sanction*, which thence took beginning: but *Gerson* the learned Chancellor of *Paris* wrote a full Discourse, entituled, *De asseribilitate Pape*, touching the totall abrogating of the *Papall Office*; which certainly he had never done in case the *Papall Office* had been found essential and of intrinsecal concernment to the Church of *Christ*. According to the Position of that learned man the greatest Princes in these times did look upon the Pope and the *Papall power* as an *Excrescence* at the best in the body myſtical; subject and fit to be pared off as occasion served: though on self-ends, Reasons of State, and to serve their severall turns by him as their needs required, they did and do permit him to continue in his former greatness. For *Lewis* the 11. King of *France* in a Council of his own Bishops held at *Lions*, cited Pope *Julius* the 2. to appear before him: and *Laustrech* Governour of *Millaine* under *Francis* the 1. conceived the Popes authority to be so unnecessary (yea even in *Italy* it self) that taking a displeasure against *Leo* the 10. he outed him of all his jurisdiction within that

that Dukedome, anno 1528. and so disposed of all Ecclesiastical affairs; *ut præfæto sacris Bigorranæ Episcopo omnia sine Romani Pontificis auctoritate administrarentur*, as *Thuanus* hath it, that the Church there was supremely governed by the Bishop of *Bigorre* (a Bishop of the Church of *France*) without the intermeddling of the Pope at all. The like we finde to have been done about six years after, by *Charles* the fifth Emperor and King of *Spain*, who being no lesse displeased with Pope *Clement* the 7. abolished the Papall power and jurisdiction out of all the Churches of his Kingdomes in *Spain*. Which though it held but for a while, (till the breach was closed) yet left he an example by it (as my Author noteth) *Ecclesiasticam disciplinam citra Romani nominis auctoritatem posse conservari*, that there was no necessity of a Pope at all. And when *K. Henry* the 8. following these examples, had banished the Popes authority out of his Dominions, Religion still remaining here as before it did (the Popes Supremacy not being at that time an Article of the Christian Faith, as it hath since been made by Pope *Pius* the 4.) that Act of his was much commended by most knowing men, in that without more alteration in the face of the Church *Romane sedis exuisset obsequium* (saith the Author of the *Tridentine History*) he had freed himself and all his subjects from so great a Vassallage. Now as *K. Henry* the 8. was not the first Christian Prince, who did *de facto* abrogate the Popes authority: so was he not the last that thought it might be abrogated if occasion were. For to say nothing of King *Edward* the 6. and Queen *Elizabeth* two of his Successors, who followed his example in it: we finde it to have been resolved on by *K. Henry* the 4. of *France*, who questionlesse had made the Archbishop of *Bourges* the Patriarch of the *Gallicane Church*, and totally withdrawn it from acknowledging of the authority of the See of *Rome*, had not Pope *Clement* the 8. (much against his will) by the continual solicitations of Cardinal *D' Ossat*, admitted him to a formal Reconciliation, on his last falling off to popery. How neer the Signeury of *Venice* was to have done the like, anno 1608. the History of the *Interdict*, or of the Quarrels betwixt that State and Pope *Paul* the 5. doth most plainly shew. This

makes it evident, that in the judgement and esteem of most Christian Princes (in other things of the Religion of the Church of Rome) the Popes Supremacy was looked upon as an incroachment; and therefore might be abrogated upon better reasons, then it had formerly been admitted in their several Kingdomes. By consequence the doing of it here in England, neither so injurious or unjust as your Zelots make it.

2. That the Church of England might proceed to a Reformation without the Approbation of the Pope or Church of Rome.

But here you say it will be replied, that though the Pope be not considered as the *Supreme Head* or Universal Pastor of the Church; with reference whereunto his *super eminent* jurisdiction was disputed in the former times: yet it cannot be denied with reason, but that he is the *Patriarch* of these Western Churches, and the *Apostle* in particular of the English Nation. In these respects no Reformation of the Church to be made without him: especially, considering that the Church of England at that time was a Member of the Church of Rome, and therefore to act nothing in that kinde but by consent of the whole; according to that known *Maxim* of the Schools, *Turpis est pars ea que toti suo non cohereat*. This though it be a *Triple Cord*, will be easily broken. For first the Pope is not the *Patriarch* of the West. One of the *Patriarchs* of the West we shall easily grant him; but that he is the *Patriarch* we will by no means yeeld. To tell you why we dare not yeeld it, I must put you in minde of these particulars: 1. That all Bishops in respect of their Office or *Episcopality* are of equall power, whether they be of Rome or Rhegium, of Constantinople or Engubium, of Alexandria or of Tannaïs, as S. Hierom hath it, *Potentia divitarum & paupertatis humilitas vel sublimiorem vel inferiorem Episcopum non facit*. A plentiful Revenue and a sorry Competency makes not (saith he) one Bishop higher then another in regard of his office, though possibly of more esteem and reputation in the eyes of men.

2. That in respect to *Polity* and external order, the Bishops

antiently were disposed of into *Sub et supra*, according to the Platform of the Roman Empire, agreeable to the good old Rule which we finde mentioned, though not made in the general Council of *Chalcedon*, that is to say, *Ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἢ τῆς ἔκκ.* The government of the Church is to be fitted and accommodated to the Civil State. 3. That the Roman Empire was divided antiently into 14 Juridical Circuits, which they called *Diocesses*, reckoning the *Præfecture* of *Rome* for one of the number: six of the which, that is to say the *Diocesses* of *Italie*, *Africk*, *Spain* *Britain*, *Gaul*, and *Illyricum occidentale*, besides the *Præfecture* of the City, were under the command of the Western Emperors, after the Empire was divided into East and West. 4. That in the *Præfecture* of the City of *Rome* were contained no more then the Provinces of *Latium*, *Tuscia*, *Picenum Suburbicatum*, *Samnum*, *Apulia*, and *Calabria*, *Brutium* and *Lucania*, in the main land of *Italy*, together with the Islands of *Sicilie*, *Corfica* and *Sardinia*. 5. That every Province having severall Cities, there was (agreeable to this model) a Bishop placed in every City, a *Metropolitan* in the chief City of each Province, who had a superintendence over all the Bishops; and in each *Diocesse*, a *Primate* ruling in chief over the *Metropolitans* of the severall Provinces. And 6. though at first only the three Primates or Arch-bishops of *Rome*, *Antioch*, and *Alexandria*, commonly and in vulgar speech had the name of *Patriarchs*, by reason of the wealth and greatnesse of those Cities (the greatest of the Roman Empire, and the chief of *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*) to which the Bishops of *Hierusalem* and *Constantinople* were after added: yet were they all of equal power among themselves, and shined with as full a splendor in their proper Orbes as any of the Popes then did in the Sphere of *Rome*, receiving all their light from the Sun of righteousness, not borrowing it from one another; for which the so much celebrated Canon of the *Nicene* Council may be proof sufficient. If not the Edicts of *Justinian* shall come in to help, by which it was decreed that all Appeals in point of grievance should lie from the Bishop to the *Metropolitan*, and from the *Metropolitans* unto the Primates (the *Patriarchs* as he calls them) of the severall *Diocesses*. By which accompt it doth appear that the Patriarchate of *Rome* was an-

tiently confined within the Præfecture of that City: in which respect as the Provinces subject to the Pope were by *Ruffinus* called *Regiones Suburbicarie*, or the City Provinces; so was the Pope himself called *Urbicus*, or the City-Bishop by *Optatus Afer*.

To prove this point more plainly by particular instances, I shall take leave to travel over the Western *Diocesses*, to see what marks of *Independence* we can finde among them: such as dissenting in opinion from the Church of *Rome*, or adhering unto different ceremonies and formes of worship, or otherwise standing in defence of their own authority. And first the Diocese of *Italy*, though under the Popes nose (as we use to say) was under the command of the Archbishop of *Millaine*, as the Primate of it: which City is therefore called by *Athanasius* *Μητρόπολις τῆς Ἰταλίας* the *Metropolis* or chief City of *Italy*. The *Saturdaies* fast observed at *Rome* and not at *Millaine*, (*Quando Roma sum jejuno Sabbato, quum hic sum non jejuno Sabbato*, as *S. Ambrose* hath it) shewes clearly that the one had no dependence upon the other. And yet the difference of *Divine Offices* or *Formes* of worship is a more pregnant proof then this: the Churches of *Millain* officiating for many ages by a *Liturgie* which *S. Ambrose* had a special hand in; they of the Patriarchate of *Rome* following the old *Roman Missals*, not fully finished and compleated till the time of Pope *Gregory*. Whence the distinction of *Ecclesiæ Ambrosiane* & *Ecclesiæ Gregorianæ*, extant in *Bonaventure* and others of the writers of the later times. Crosse we the Seas unto the Diocese of *Africk*, governed in chief by the Primate or Archbishop of *Carthage*: and there we finde *S. Cyprian* determining against Pope *Stephen* in the then controverted case of *Rebaptization*; and calling him (in his Epistle to *Pompeius*) an obstinate and presumptuous man, and a fauter of *Hereticks*: no very great tokens of subjection, if you mark it well. The error of his judgement in the point debated I regard not here; but I am sure that in defence of his authority and jurisdiction, he was right enough: and therein strongly seconded by the *African Church*, opposing the incroachments of *Zosimus*, *Boniface*, and *Celestine*, succeeding one another in the *Roman Patriarchate*; prohibiting all ap-
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peals to Rome in the Councils of Milevis and Carthage; and finally excommunicating *Lupicinus* for appealing to Pope *Leo* the first, contrary to the rites and liberties of the *African* Church. Next for the Diocese of *Spain*, I look upon the *Musarabick* Liturgie composed by *Isidore*, Archbishop of *Sevil*, and universally received in all the Churches of that Continent for as unquestionable a character of self-subsistency as the *Ambrosian* Office was in the Church of *Millain*: the *Roman* or *Gregorian* Missal not being used in all this Countrey till the year 1083. At which time one *Bernard* a *Frenchman* and a great stickler in behalf of the *Roman* Ceremonies, being made Archbishop of *Toledo*, by practising with *Alfonso* the then King of *Castile*, first introduced the *Roman* Missal into some of the Churches of that City, and after by degrees into all the rest of those Kingdomes: soon after the Churches of *France*, the greatest and most noble part of the *Gallick* Diocese, they were originally under the authority of the Bishop of *Lions*, as their proper *Primate*, not owing any suit or service to the Court of *Rome*; but standing on their own *Basis*, and acting all things of themselves as the others did. The freedom wherewith *Ireneus* the renowned Bishop of that City reproved the rashness of Pope *Victor* (in the Case of *Easter*) not well becoming an inferior Bishop to the *Supreme* Pastor: shewes plainly that they stood on even ground, and had no advantage of each other in respect of *sub & supra*, as *Logicians* say: notwithstanding that more powerful Principality (*potentior principalitas*, as the *Latin* hath it) which *Ireneus* did allow him over those at home. But a more evident proof of this there can hardly be then those large liberties and freedoms which the Church *Gallican* doth at this time enjoy; the remainders past all doubt of those ancient rights which under their own *Patriarch* they were first possessed of: not suffering the Decrees of the Council of *Trent* (that great supporter of the *Pope* dome) to take place amongst them, but as insensibly and by the practices of some Bishops they were introduced; curbing the *Popes* exorbitant power by the *pragmatick* Sanction, and by the frequent Judgements and Arrests of *Parliament*: in so much as a Book of Cardinal *Bellarmines* tending to the

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advancement of the Papall Monarchy, and another writ by *Becanus* the Jesuite entituled *Controversia Anglicana* in maintenance of the Popes supremacy, were suppressed and censured, anno 1612. Another writ by *Gaspar Schioppinus* to the same effect (but with far lesse modesty) being at the same time burnt by the hands of the Hangman. Finally, for the Churches of the Diocesse of *Britain* (those of *Illyricum* lying too far off to be brought in here) they had their own Pimate also the Archbishop of *York*, and under him two Metropolitans, the Bishops of *London* and *Caer-leon*. And for a character of their Freedome or *self subsistence*, they had four different customes from the Church of *Rome*, as in the *Tonsure*, and the keeping of the Feast of *Easter*, wherein they followed the Tradition of the *Eastern Churches*: So firm withall in their obedience to their own Pimate, the Archbishop of *Caer-leon* on *Ush* (the only Archbishop of three which before they had) that they would by no means yeeld subjection unto *Augustine* the Monk, the first Archbishop of the *English*, though he came armed amongst them with the Popes authority. Nor would they afterwards submit unto his successors, though backed by the authority of the Kings of *England*, acknowledging no other Pimate but the Bishop of *St. Davids* (to which the Metropolitan See was then translated) untill the time of *Henry* the 2. when the greatest part of *South Wales* and the City of *S. Davids* it self was in possession of the *English*. These were the Patriarchs or Primates of the Western Churches, and by these Primates the Church was either governed singly (but withall supremely) 'in their severall Diocesses, (taking the word *Diocese* in the former notion) or in conjunction each with other by their letters of advice and intercourse, which they called *Literas Formatas* and *Communicatorias*. You see by this that though the Pope was one of the Western Patriarchs, yet was he not originally and by primitive Institution, either the Patriarch of the West, (that isto say not the only one) nor could pretend unto their Rights, as any of their Sees were ruined by the barbarous Nations: and consequently his consent not necessary to a Reformation beyond the bounds of his own Patriarchate, under that pretence.

Let us next see what power he can lay claim unto, as the *Apostle* in particular of the *English Nation*. Which memorable title I shall never grudge him. I know well not only that the wife of *Ethelbert King of Kent*, a Christian and a daughter of *France* had both her Chappel and her Chappellane in the *Palace Royal*, before the first preaching of *Austin the Monk*; but that the *Britains* living intermixt with the *Saxons* for so long a time, may be supposed in probability and reason to have gained some of them to the Faith. But let the Pope enjoy this honour, let *Gregory the Great* be the *Apostle* of the *English Saxons*, by whom that *Augustine* was sent hither: yet this enticuleth his Successors to no higher *Prerogatives* then the *Lords own Apostles* did think fit to claim in Countreys which they had converted. For neither were the *English Saxons* Baptized in the name of the Pope (they had been then *Gregoriani* and not *Christiani*); or looked upon him as the Lord of this part of *Gods heritage*, but as an helper to their joy. *S. Paul* the *Apostle* of the *Gentiles* did disclaim the one; *S. Peter* the *Apostle* of the *Jewes* did dissuade the other. The *Anglican Church* was absolute and *Independent* from the first beginning, not tyed so much as to the Ceremonies of the *Church of Rome*: it being left by *Gregory* to the discretion of *Augustine*, out of the *Rites* and *Rubricks* of such Churches as he met with in his journey hither (these of *Italie* and *France* he means) to constitute a form of worship for the *Church of England*. And for a further proof hereof, he that consults the *Saxon Councils* collected by that learned and industrious Gentleman *Sir H. Spelman*, will finde how little there was in them of a *Papall* influence, from the first planting of the *Gospel* to the *Norman Conquest*. If we look lower we shall finde, that the *Popes Legat a Latere* whensoever sent, durst not set foot on *English* ground, till he was licensed and indemnified by the *Kings Authority*: but all *Appeals* in case of grievance were to be made (by a Decree of *Henry the 2.*) from the *Archdeacon* to the *Bishop*, from the *Bishop* to the *Metropolitan*, *Et si Archiepiscopus defecerit in iustitia exhibenda, ad Dominum Regem deveniendum est postremo*, and last of all from the *Metropolitan* to the *King himself*; no *Appeal* hence unto the *Pope* as in other places, that the *Clergy*

of this land had a self-authority of treating and concluding in any business which concerned their own peace and happiness, without resorting to the Pope for a confirmation. Out of which Canons and Determinations made amongst ourselves, *Lindwood* composed his *Provincial* (though framed according to the method of the *Roman Decretal*) to be the standing body of our *Common-Law*: that on the other side neither the *Canons* of that Church, or *Decretals* of the Popes were concluding here, but either by a voluntary submission of some fawning and ambitious Prelates, or as they were received Synodically by the *English Clergy*; of which the constitutions made by *Oise* and *Oisebon* Legats *aliter* from the Pope may be proof sufficient: and finally that *Anselm* the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was welcomed by Pope *Urban* the 2. to the Council of *Bari* in *Apulia*, *tanquam alterius orbis Papa*, as in *William* of *Malmerbury*; *tanquam Patriarcham & Apostolicum*, as *John Capgrave* hath it, as the Pope, Patriarch, and Apostolick Pastor of another World (*Diviso orbe Britannos*, as you know who said). Which titles questionlesse the Pope would never have conferred upon him, had he not been as absolute and supreme in his own jurisdiction (succeeding in the Patriarchal Rights of the *British Diocese*) as the Pope was within the Churches subject unto his Authority. And this perhaps might be the reason why *Innocent* the 2. bestowed on *Theobald* (the third from *Anselm*) and on his Successors in that See, the Title of *Legati nati*; that they might seem to act rather in the time to come as Servants and Ministers to the Pope, then as the Primates and chief Pastors of the Church of *England*. And by all this it may appear that the Popes Apostleship was never looked on here as a matter of so great concernment, that the Church might not lawfully proceed to a Reformation without his allowance and consent. Were that plea good, the *Germans* might not lawfully have reformed themselves, without the allowance of the *English*: it being evident in story that not only *Boniface* Archbishop of *Mentz*, called generally the Apostle of *Germany*, was an *English* man; but that *Willibald* the first Bishop of *Eysel*, *Willibad* the first Bishop of *Bremen*, *Willibrod* the first Bishop of *Utrecht*, *Scribert* the first Bishop of *Uirlem*, and the first converters of those

those parts were of *England* also Men instigated to this great work (all except the first) not so much by the Popes zeal as their own great piety.

By this that hath been said it is clear enough that the Church of *England* at the time of the *Reformation*, was not indeed a Member of the Church of *Rome*, under the Pope as the chief Pastor and *Supreme Head* of the Church of *CHRIST*: but a Fellow-member with it of that Body *Mystical* whereof *CHRIST* only is the Head, part of that flock whereof he only is the *Shepherd*: a sister Church to that of *Rome*, though with relation to the time of her last conversion, but a younger Sister. And if a Fellow-member and a Sister-Church, she might make use of that authority which naturally and originally was vested in her, to reform her self, without the leave of the particular Church of *Rome*, or any other whatsoever of the *Sister-Churches*. The Church is likened to a City in the Book of God, a *City at unity in it self*, as the Psalmist calls it; and as a *City* it consisteth of many houses, and in each house a several and particular Family. Suppose this *City* visited with some general sicknesse, may not each family take care to preserve it self, advise with the Physician, and apply the Remedy, without consulting with the rest? Or if consulting with the rest, must they needs ask leave also of the *Mayor* or principal Magistrate, take counsel with no other Doctors, and follow no other course of Physick then such as he commends unto them, or imposeth on them? Or must the lesser languish irremediably under the calamity, because the greater and more potent Families do not like the cure? Assuredly it was not so in the *primitive* times, when it was held a commendable and lawfull thing for *National* and particular Churches to reform such errors and corruptions as they found amongst them; nor in the Church of *Judah* neither, when the Idolatries of their Neighbours had got ground upon them. Though *Israel* transgress, let not *Judah* sin, saith the Prophet *Hosea* chap. 4. Yet *Israel* was the greater and more numerous people. Ten Tribes to two; two of the ten the eldest sons of their Father *Jacob*, all of them older then *Benjamin* the last begotten, being the second of the two: which notwithstanding the Kings of *Judah* might and did

proceed to a *Reformation*; though those of *Israel* did refuse to co-operate with them. The like was also done *de facto* and *de jure* too in the best and happiest times of *Christianity*: there being many errors and unsound opinions condemned in the Councils of *Gangra*; *Aquilia*; *Carthage*; *Milvian*; and not a few corruptions in the practical part of Religion reformed in the Synods of *Eliberis*; *Laodicea*; *Arles*; and others in the fourth Century of the Church: without advising or consulting with the *Roman Oracle*, or running to the Church of *Rome* for a confirmation of their Acts and doings; though at that time invested with a greater and more powerful principality than the others were. No such regard had in those times to the Church of *Rome*, though the elder Sister, but that another National Church might reform without her: nor any such consideration had of the younger Sisters, that one should tarry for another till they all agreed, though possibly they might all be sensible of the inconvenience, and all alike desirous of a speedy Remedy. But of this more anon in Answer to the next Objections.

Proceed we now a little further, and let us grant for once that the Church of *England* was a Member at that time of the Church of *Rome*, acknowledging the Pope for the Head thereof: yet this could be no hindrance to a *Reformation*, when the pretended Head would not yeeld unto it; or that the Members could not meet to consult about it. The whole Body of the Church was in ill condition, every part unsound, but the disease lay chiefly in the head it self, grown monstrously too great for the rest of the Members. And should the whole body pine and languish without hope of ease, because the Head (I mean still the pretended Head) would not be purged of some superfluous and noxious humours occasioning giddinesse in the brain, dimnesse in the eye, deafnesse in the ear, and in a word, a general and sad distemper unto all the Members? The Pope was grown to an exorbitant height both of pride and power; the Court of *Rome* wallowing (as in a course of prosperous fortunes) in all voluptuousnesse and sensuality. Nothing so feared amongst them as a *Reformation*, whereby they knew that an abatement must be made of their pomp and pleasure. Of these

these corruptions and abuses as of many others complaint had formerly been made, by *Armachanus*, *Groftbead* Bishop of *Lincoln*, *S. Bernard*, *Nic. de Clemangis*, and other conscientious men in their several Countreys: not a few errors noted and informed against by *Wickliffe*, *John of Hus*, &c. But they complained to a deaf *Adder*, who was resolved not to bear the voice of those charmers, charmed they never so wisely. The Church mean while was in a very ill condition, when he that should prescribe the cure, was become the sicknesse. Considering therefore that a *Reformation* could not be obtained by the Popes consent, there was no remedy but that it must be made without it. The *Molten Calfe* modelled by the *Egyptian Apis*, and the *Altar* patterned from *Damiscus*, had made the *Israelites* (in all probability) as great idolaters as their neighbours, if the *High priests* that set them up might have had their wils. Nor had it been much better with the Church of *CHRIST*, if *Arianism* could not have been suppressed in particular Churches, because *Liberius* Pope of *Rome*, (supposing him to be the *Head* of the Church in general) had subscribed unto it, and that no error and corruption could have been reformed, which any of the Popes (whose Graves I am very loth to open) had been guilty of, but by their permission. The Church now were in worse estate under *Christian* Princes, then when it suffered under the power and tyranny of the *Heathen* Emperors, if it were not lawful for particular Churches to provide for their own safety and salvation, without resorting to the Pope: who cannot every day be spoke with, and may (when spoken with) be pressed with so many inconveniences nearer hand, as not to be at leisure to attend such businesses as lie further off. And therefore it was well said by *Danet* the *French* Ambassador when he communicated to the Pope his Masters purpose of Reforming the *Gallican* Church by a National Council: If (said he) *Paris* were on fire, would you not count the Citizens either *Fools*, or *Mad-men*, if they should send so far as *Tiber* for some water to quench it, the *River* of *Seine* running through the City, and the *Marna* so near it?

3. That the Church of England might lawfully proceed to a Reformation without the help of a General Council, or calling in the aid of the Protestant Churches.

But here you say it is objected, that if a Reformation were so necessary as we seem to make it, and that the Pope was never like to yeeld unto it, as the case then stood; it ought to have been done by a *General Council*, according to the usage of the Primitive times. I know indeed that *General Councils* (such as are commonly so called) are of excellent use, and that the name thereof is sacred and of high esteem. But yet I prize them not so highly as Pope Gregory did, who ranked the four first *General Councils* with the four *Evangelists*: nor am I of opinion that they are so necessary to a Reformation either in point of Faith or corruption of manners, but that the business of the Church may be done without them. Nay, might I be so bold as to lay my naked thoughts before you (as I think I may) you would there finde it to be some part of my Belief that there never was, and never can be such a thing as a *General Council* truly and properly so called: that is to say, such a *General Council* to which all the Bishops of the Church (admitting none but such to the power of voting) have bin or can be called together by themselves or their *Proxies*. These which are commonly so called, as those of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, Chalcedon, were only of the Prelates of the Roman Empire. Christian Churches existing at that time in Ethiopia and the Kingdome of Persia (which made up no small part of the Church of Christ) were neither present at them, nor invited to them. And yet not all the Prelates neither of the Roman Empire, nor some from every Province of it did attend that service: those Councils only being the Assemblies of some Eastern Bishops, such as could most conveniently be drawn together: few of the Western Churches (none at all in some) having or list or leisure for so long a journey: For in the so much celebrated Council of Nice, there were but nine Bishops sent from France, but two from Africa, one alone from Spain, none from the Diocese of Britain, and out of Italy, which lay nearest

nearest to it, none but two Priests appeared at all, and those as *Legats* from the Pope, not authorised to represent the *Italian Churches*; so that of 318 Bishops which were there assembled, there were but twelve in all, (besides the *Legats* of the Pope) for the *Western Churches*: too great a disproportion to entitle it to the name of *General*. And yet this was more *General* then the rest that followed: there being no Bishops of the West at all in the second and third, but the Popes themselves: and in the 4 none but the *Legats* of the Pope to supply his place. So that these Councils were called *General*, not that they were so in themselves, but that there was a greater concourse to them from the neighbouring Provinces, then was or had been to some others on the like occasions. Which if it be enough to constitute a *General Council*, I see no reason but the Council of *Antioch* might be called so too, summoned in the case of *Paulus Samosetanus*, the Patriarch at that time of that famous City. For the condemning of whose *Heresie* there convened not the Bishops of that Province only, but the Patriarch of *Hierusalem*, the Bishop of *Cesarea* in *Palestine*, *Bizra* in *Arabia*, *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, *Cesarea* in *Cappadocia*, of *Iconium* in *Lycania*, of *Neo-Cesarea* in *Pontus*, besides many others from all places, of the same rank and quality, but of lesser fame: not to say any thing of *Dionysius* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, invited but not present in regard of sicknesse, which defect he recompensed by his letters of advice and intercourse; or of *Dionysius* Pope of *Rome*, so hampered by the *Puritan* or *Novatian* faction, that he could not shine. So that if the present of two of the four Patriarchs, and the inviting of the others, with the Bishops of so many distant Nations as were there assembled, suffice to make a *General Council*; the Council of *Antioch* might as well have the name of *General*, as almost any of the rest which are so entituled.

But laying by these thoughts as too strong of the *Paradox*, and looking on a *General Council* in the common notion, for an Assembly of the Prelates of the East and West, to which the four *Patriarchs* are invited, and from which no Bishop is excluded that comes commissioned and instructed to attend the service: I cannot think them of such consequence

to the Church of God, but that it may proceed without them to a Reformation. For certainly that saying of S. Augustine in his 4. Book against the two Epistles of the Pelagians, cap. 12. is exceeding true, *Paucas fuisse hareses ad quas superandas necessarium fuerit Concilium plenarium occidentis & orientis*, that very few Heresies have been crushed in such General Councils. And so far we may say with the learned Cardinal, that for seven Heresies suppressed in seven General Councils (though by his leave the seventh did not so much suppress as advance an Heresie) an hundred have been quashed in National and Provincial Synods: whether confirmed or not confirmed by the Popes authority, we regard not here. Some instances hereof in the Synods of *Aquileia*, *Carthage*, *Gangra*, *Milevis*, we have seen before, and might adde many others now, did we think it necessary. The Church had been in ill condition, if it had been otherwise, especially under the power of Heathen Emperors, when such a confluence of the Prelates from all parts of the world would have been construed a *Conspiracie* against the State, and drawn destruction on the Church and the Persons both. Or granting that they might assemble without any such danger, yet being great bodies, moving slowly, and not without long time and many difficulties and disputes, to be rightly constituted: the Church would suffer more under such delay by the spreading of Heresie, then receive benefit by their care to suppress the same. Had the same course been taken at *Alexandria* for suppressing *Arius*, as was before at *Antioch* for condemning *Paulus*; we never had heard newes of the Council of *Nice*; the calling and assembling whereof took up so long time, that *Arianism* was diffused over all the world before the Fathers met together; and could not be suppressed (though it were condemned) in many ages following after. The plague of Heresie, and leprosie of sin would quickly overrun the whole face of the Church, if capable of no other cure then a General Council. The case of *Arius*, and the universal spreading of his Heresie compared with the quick rooting out of so many others, makes this clear enough.

To go a little further yet, we will suppose a General Council to be the best and safest Physick that the Church can take;

take, on all occasions of *Epidemical* distemper; but then we must suppose it at such times and in such cases only, when it may conveniently be had. For where it is not to be had or not had conveniently, it will either prove to be no *Physick*, or not worth the taking. But so it was, that at the time of the *Reformation*, a *General Council* could not conveniently be assembled, and more then so it was impossible that any such *Council* should assemble; I mean a *General Council* rightly called and constituted, according to the Rules laid down by our *Controversors*. For first they say it must be called by such as have power to do it. 2. That it must be intimated to all Christian Churches, that so no Church nor people may plead ignorance of it. 3. The Pope and the four chief Patriarchs must be present at it, either in person or by *Proxie*. And lastly, that no Bishop is to be excluded, if he be known to be a Bishop and not excommunicated. According to which Rules, it was impossible I say, that any *General Council* should be assembled at the time of the *Reformation* of the Church of *England*. It was not then as when the greatest part of the *Christian* world was under the command of the *Roman* Emperors; whose Edict for a *General Council* might speedily be posted over all the Provinces. The Messengers who should now be sent on such an errand unto the Countreys of the *Turk*, the *Persian*, the *Tartarian*, and the great *Mogul* (in which are many *Christian* Churches, and more perhaps then in all the rest of the world besides) would finde but sorry entertainment. Nor was it then, as when the four chief Patriarchs, together with their Metropolitans and Suffragan Bishops, were under the protection of the *Christian* Emperors, and might without danger to themselves or unto their Churches, obey the intimation and attend the service: those *Patriarchs* with their Metropolitans and Suffragans, both then and now languishing under the tyranny and power of the *Turk*, to whom so general a confluence of *Christian* Bishops, must needs give matter of suspicion, of just fears and jealousies, and therefore not to be permitted (as far as he can possibly hinder it) on good Reason of State. For who knowes better then themselves how long and dangerous a war was raised against their Predecessors

fors by the *Western Christians* for recovery of the *Holy Land*, on a resolution taken up at the Council of *Clermont*; and that making war against the *Turks* is still esteemed a cause sufficient for a *General Council*. And then besides it would be known by whom this *General Council* was to be assembled: if by the Pope, as generally the *Papists* say, he and his Court were looked on as the greatest grievance of the *Christian Church*: and 'twas not probable that he would call a Council against himself, unless he might have leave to pack it, to govern it by his own Legats, fill it with *Titular Bishops* of his own creating, and send the *Holy Ghost* to them in a Clokebag as he did to *Trent*. If joyntly by all *Christian Princes* (which is the common *Tenet* of the *Protestant Schools*) what hopes could any man conceive (as the times then were) that they should lay aside their particular interestes, to center all together upon one design? or if they had agreed about it, what power had they to call the *Prelates* of the *East* to attend the business, or to protect them for so doing at their going home? So that I look upon the hopes of a *General Council*, I mean a *General Council* rightly called and constituted, as an empty Dream. The most that was to be expected was but a meeting of some *Bishops* of the *West* of *Europe*, and those but of one party only: such as were excommunicated, (and that might be as many as the Pope should please) being to be excluded by the *Cardinals Rule*. Which how it may be called an *Oecumenial* or *General Council*, unless it be a *Topical-Oecumenial*, a *Particular-general* (as great an absurdity in *Grammar*, as a *Roman Catholick*) I can hardly see.

Which being so, and so no question but it was, either the Church must continue without *Reformation*, or else it must be lawfull for *National* particular Churches to reform themselves. In such a case the Church may be reformed *per partes*, Part after part, Province after Province, as is said by *Gerson*. But I do not mean to trouble you with this Dispute. For that particular Churches may reform themselves by *National* or *Provincial* Councils, when the Church general will not do it, or that it cannot be effected by a *General Council*, hath been so fully proved by my Lord of
Cau-

Canterbury in his learned and elaborate discourse against Fisher the Jesuite, that nothing can be added unto so great diligence. But if it be objected, as you say it is, that National Councils have a power of Promulgation only, not of Determination also : I answer first, that this runs crosse to all the current of Antiquity, in which not only National but Provincial Councils did usually determine in the points of Faith, and these too of the greatest moment, as did that of Antioch ; which if it were somewhat more then a National, was notwithstanding never reckoned for a General Council. I answer secondly as before, that for one Heresie suppressed in a General Council, there have been ten at least suppressed in National and Provincial Synods ; wick could not be in case they had no power of Determination. And thirdly, That the Articles or Confession of the Church of England are only Declaratory of such Catholick Doctrines as were received of old in the Church of CHRIST, not Introductory of new ones of their own devising ; as might be evidenced in particular, were this place fit for it. But what needs any proof at all, when we have Confession ? For the Archbishop of Spalato (a man as well studied in the Fathers, as the best amongst them) ingenuously acknowledged at the High Commission, that the Articles of this Church were profitable, none of them Heretical ; and that he would defend the honour of the Church of England against all the world. And this he said at the very time of his departure, when his soul was gone before to Rome, and nothing but his carkasse left behinde in England. The like avowed by Davenport, or Franciscus a Sancta Clara (call him which you will) who makes the Articles of this Church rightly understood according to the literal meaning, and not perverted to the ends of particular Factions, to be capable of a Catholick and Orthodox sense : which is as much as could be looked for from the mouth of an Adversary. So much as cost one of them his life (though perhaps it will be said that he died in prison) and the burning of his body after his death ; though he endeavoured to save both by a Retraction. So that in this case too we have omnia bene, nothing amisse in the proceedings of this Church, with reference to the Pope or a General Council.

But you will say, that though we could not stay the calling of a *General Council*, which would have justified our proceedings in the eyes of our *Adversaries*: it had been requisite even in the way of *civil Prudence* to have taken the advice of the *Sister-Churches*, especially of those which were engaged at the same time in the same designs: which would have added reputation to us in the eyes of our *Friends*. As for the taking counsel of the *Sister-Churches*, it hath been touched upon already, and therefore we shall say no more as to that particular: unlesse the *Sister-Churches* of these latter times had been like the *Believers* in the infancy of the Christian Faith, when they were all of one heart and one soul, as the Scripture hath it, *Act. 4.* their counsels had been dilatory, if not destructive. 'Tis true indeed, united Councils are the stronger and of greater weight, and not to be neglected where they may be had; but where they are not to be had, we must act without them. And if we look into the time of our *Reformation*, we shall finde those that were engaged in the same design, divided into obstinate parties; and holding the names of *Luther* and *Zuinglius* in an higher estimate then either the truth of the Opinion in which they differed, or the common happinesse of the Church so disturbed between them. The breath not lessened, but made wider by the rise of *Calvin*, succeeding not long after in the fame of *Zuinglius*: besides, that living under the command of several Princes, and those Princes driving on to their several ends; it had been very difficult, if not impossible to draw them unto such an *Harmony* of affections, and consent in judgement, as so great a businesse did require. So that the Church of *England* was necessitated in that conjuncture of affairs to proceed as it did, and to act that single by it self, which could not be effected by the common Councils, and joynt concurrence of the others. 'Tis true, *Melanchthon* was once coming over in *King Henries* daies, but staid his journey on the death of *Queen Anne Bullen*, and that he was after sent for by *King Edward the sixth* (*Regis Literis in Angliam vocor*) as he affirms in an Epistle unto *Camerarius*, anno 1553. But he was staid at that time also on some other occasion, though had he come at that time he had come too late to have had any

any hand in the *Reformation*, the Articles of the Church being passed, the Liturgie reviewed and settled in the year before. And 'tis as true that *Calvin* offered his assistance to Archbishop *Cranmer*, for the reforming of this Church; *Siquis mei usus esset*, as his own words are, if his assistance were thought needfull to advance the work. But *Cranmer* knew the man, and refused the offer; and he did very wisely in it. For seeing it impossible to unite all parties, it had been an imprudent thing to have closed with any. I grant indeed that *Martin Bucer* and *Peter Martyr* (men of great learning and esteem, but of different judgements) were brought over hither, about the beginning of the reign of K *Edward 6.* the one of them being placed in *Oxford*, the other in *Cambridge*; but they were rather entertained as private Doctors to moderate in the Chairs of those Universities, then any waies made use of in the *Reformation*. For as the first *Liturgie* which was the main key unto the work, was framed and settled before either of them were come over; so *Bucer* died, before the compiling of the Book of *Articles*, which was the accomplishment thereof: nor do I finde that *Peter Martyr* was made use of otherwise in this weighty business, then to make that good by disputation, which by the Clergy in their *Synods* or *Convocations* was agreed upon. By means whereof the Church proceeding without reference to the different interestes of the neighbouring Churches, kept a conformity in all such points of Government and publique order with the Church of *Rome*, in which that Church had not forsaken the clear Tract of the primitive Times: retaining not only the Episcopall Government, with all the concomitants and adjuncts of it, which had been utterly abolished in the *Zwinglian* Churches, and much impaired in power and jurisdiction by the *Lutherans* also: and keeping up a *Liturgie* or set form of worship, according to the rites and usages of the primitive times, which those of the *Calvinian* congregations would not hearken to. God certainly had so disposed it in his heavenly wisdom, that so this Church without respect unto the names and Dictates of particular Doctors, might found its *Reformation* on the *Prophets* and *Apostles* only, according to the Explications and Tra-

ditions of the ancient Fathers : and being so founded in it self, without respect to any of the differing parties, might in succeeding Ages sit as Judge between them ; as being more inclinable by her constitution to mediate a peace amongst them then to espouse the quarrel of either side, to the Popes authority on the one side, or on the other side. And though *Spalato* in the Book of his *Retractions*, which he calls *Consilium redeundi*, objects against us : That besides the publick Articles and confession authorised by the Churches, we had embraced some *Lutheran* and *Calvinian* Fancies (*multa Lutheri & Calvini dogmata*, so his own words run) yet this was but the error of particular men, not to be charged upon the Church as maintaining either. The Church is constant to her safe and her first conclusions, though many private men take liberty to imbrace new Doctrines.

4. *That the Church did not innovate in translating the Scriptures and the publick Liturgie into vulgar tongues ; and of the consequents thereof in the Church of England.*

The next thing faulted (as you say) in the *Reformation*, is the committing so much heavenly treasure to such rotten vessels, the trusting so much excellent Wine to such musty bottles : I mean the versions of the *Scriptures* and the publick *Liturgies* into the usual Languages of the common people, and the promiscuous liberty indulged them in it. And this they charge not as an *Innovation* simply, but as an *Innovation* of a dangerous consequence ; the sad effects whereof we now see so clearly. A charge wick doth alike concern all the *Protestant* and *Reformed* Churches, so that I should have passed it over at the present time, but that it is made ours more specially in the application ; the sad effects which the enemy doth so much insult in being said to be more visible in the Church of *England*, then in other places. This makes it ours, and therefore here to be considered, as the former were. First then they charge it on the Church as an *Innovation*, it being affirmed by *Bellarmino* in his 2. Book *De verbo Dei*, cap. 15. (whether with lesse truth or modesty, it is hard to say) *Universam Ecclesiam semper his tantum linguis, &c.* that

that in the Universal Church in all times foregoing the Scriptures were not commonly and publickly read in any other language but in the *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latine*: this is (you see) a two-edged sword, and strikes not only against all *Translations* of the Scriptures into vulgar languages for common use, but against reading those *Translations* publickly as a part of the *Liturgie*, in which are many things as the Cardinal tells us *que secreta esse debent*, which are not fit to be made known to the common people. This is the substance of the charge, and herein we joyn issue in the usual Form with *Absque hoc, sans ceo*, no such matter really; the constant current of Antiquity doth affirm the contrary: by which it will appear most plainly that the Church did neither innovate in this act of hers, nor deviate therein from the Word of God, or from the usage of the best and happiest times of the Church of *CHRIST*. Not from the Word of God, there's no doubt of that, which was committed unto writing that it might be read, and read by all that were to be directed and guided by it. The Scriptures of the *Old Testament* first writ in *Hebrew*, the Vulgar language of that people, and read unto them publickly on the *Sabbath* daies, as appears clearly *Ab. 13. 15. & 15. 21.* translated afterwards (by the cost and care of *Ptolemy Philadelphus* King of *Egypt*) into the *Greek* tongue, the most known and studied language of the Eastern world. The *New Testament* first writ in *Greek* for the self-same reason, (but that *St. Matthew's Gospel* is affirmed by some learned men to have been written in the *Hebrew*) and written to this end and purpose, that men might believe that *JESUS* is the *CHRIST* the Son of *GOD*, and that believing they might have life in his Name, *Joh. 20. vers. ult.* But being that all the Faithfull did not understand these Languages, and that the light of holy Scripture might not be likened to a Candle hidden under a Bushel: it was thought good by many godly men in the *Primitive* times to translate the same into the Languages of the Countreys in which they lived, or of the which they had been Natives. In which respect *S. Chrysostome* then banished into *Armenia*, translated the *New Testament*, and the *Psalms* of *David*, into the Language of that people; *S. Hierom* a *Pannonian* born, tran-

translated the whole Bible into the *Dalmatick* tongue, as *Vulphilas* Bishop of the *Goths* did into the *Gothick* - all which we finde together without further search, in the *Bibliothèque* of *Sixtus Senensis*, a learned and ingenuous man but a *Pontifician*, and so lesse partial in this cause. The like done here in England by the care of *Athelstan* causing a Translation of the *Saxon* Tongue; the like done by *Methodius*, the Apostle General of the *Slaves*, translating it into the *Sclavonian* for the use of those Nations: not to say any thing of the *Syriack*, *Aethiopick*, *Arabick*, the *Persian*, and *Chaldean* Versions, of which the times and Authors are not so well known. And what I pray you, is the *vulgar* or old *Latine* Edition, (of late times made *Authentick* by the Popes of *Rome*) but a Translation of the Scriptures out of *Greek* and *Hebrew* for the instruction of the *Roman* and *Italian* Nations, to whom the *Latine* at that time was the *Vulgar* Tongue? And when that Tongue by reason of the breaking in of the barbarous Nations was worn out of knowledge, (I mean as to the common people) did not God stir up *James* Archbishop of *Genoa*, when the times were darkest (that is to say, *anno* 1290. or thereabouts) to give some light to them by translating the whole Bible into the *Italian*, the modern Language of that Countrey? As he did *Wiclef* not long after, to translate the same into the *English* of those times, (the *Saxon* Tongue not being then commonly understood) a copy of whose Version in a fair Velom Manuscript I have now here by me, by the gift of my noble Friend *Charles Dymoke*, Hereditary Champion to the Kings of England. So then it is no innovation to translate the Scriptures; and lesse to suffer these Translations to be promiscuously read by all sorts of people: the Scripture being as well *MILK* for *Babes*, as *strong Meat* for the man of more able judgement. Why else doth the Apostle note it as a commendable thing in *Timothy*, that he knew the Scriptures from his childhood? and why else doth *S. Hierom* speak it to the honour of the Lady *Paula*, that she made her maids learn somewhat daily of the holy Scriptures? Why else does *Chrysostome* call so earnestly on all sorts of men to provide themselves of the holy Bibles, τὰς ἱερὰς γραφὰς, the only *Physick* for the Soul, as he calls

cals it there : inviting to the reading thereof not only men of learning and publick businesse ; but even the poor Artificer also, as is acknowledged by *Senensis* whom before we mentioned. And why else doth *S. Augustine* inform his Auditors, that it sufficeth not to hear the Scriptures read in the Congregation, unlesse they read also in their private Houses. Assuredly if Boyes and Girles, if Servants and Artificers are called upon so earnestly to consult the Scriptures, to have them in a Tongue intelligible to them in their private Families ; and are commended for so doing as we see they are : I know no rank of men that can be excluded.

Let us next see whether it be an *Innovation* in the Church of *CHRIST*, to have the *Liturgies* or *Common-prayers* of the Church in the Tongue generally understood by the common People, which make the greatest number of all Church Assemblies. And first we finde by the Apostle not only that the publick Prayers of the Church of *Cninth*, were celebrated in a language which they understood ; but that it ought to be so also in all other Churches, Except (saith he) ye utter by the voice words easie to be understood, how shall it be known what is spoken ? How shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say Amen to thy giving of thanks (and consequently to thy Prayers also) if he understand not what thou sayest ? 1 Cor. 14. 9. 16. What say the Papists unto this ? Do not both *Lyra* and *Aquinas* expressly grant in their Commentaries on this place of Scripture, that the common Service of the Church in the Primitive times was in the common vulgar language ? Is not the like affirmed by *Harding* in his Answer to Bishop *Jewels* challenge, Art. 3 Sect. 28. Adding withall, that it was necessary in the Primitive times that it should be so ; and granting that it were still better that the people had their Service in their own vulgar Tongue for their better understanding of it ? Sect. 33. Having thus *Confitentes reos*, we need seek no further, and yet a further search will not be unprofitable. And on that search it will be found that the converted *Jewes* did celebrate their divine Offices (*Traclatus & oblationes*, as the Father hath it) most commonly in the *Syriack*, and sometimes in the *Hebrew* tongue ; the natural Languages of that people : as is affirmed by *S. Ambrose* in 1. ad Cor. cap. 14. and out of him by *Durand* in his *Rationale*

Divinorum. *Eckius* a great stickler of the Popes, affirmeth in his *Common places*, that the *Indians* have their *Service* in the *Indian* tongue; and that *S. Hierome* having translated the whole *Bible* into the *Chalcutick*, procured that the *Service* should be celebrated in that Language also. The like *S. Hierome* himself in his *Epistle* to *Heliodorus*, hath told us of the *Bessi* a *Sarmatian* people: the like *S. Basil* in his *Epistle* to the *Necesaricans*, assures us for the *Aegyptians*, *Libyans*, *Palestinians*, *Phenicians*, *Arabians*, *Syrians*, and such as dwell about the Banks of the River *Euphrates*. The *Aethiopians* had their *Mass*, the *Chalcutans* theirs; each in the language of their Countreys, which they still retain: So had the *Moscovites* of old, and all the scattered Churches of the Eastern parts, which they continue to this day.

But nothing is more memorable in this kinde then that which *Æneas Silvius* tells of the *Slavonians*, who being converted to the Faith made suite unto the Pope to have the publick *Service* in their natural Tongue: but some delay being made therein by the Pope and Cardinals, a voice was heard, seeming to have come from Heaven, praying, *Omnis Spiritus laudet Dominum, & omnis lingua confiteatur ei*: whereupon their desires were granted without more dispute. Touching which Grant there is extant an *Epistle* from Pope *John* the 8. to *Szentopulcher* King of the *Moravian* *Slaves*, anno 888. at what time both the *Latine Service* and the Popes authority were generally received in those parts of Europe. Which Letter of Pope *John* the 8. together with the Story above mentioned, might probably be a chief inducement to *Innocent* the 3. to set out a Decree in the *Lateran* Council, importing that in all such Cities in which there was a concourse of divers Nations, and consequently of different Languages, (as in most Towns of Trade there doth use to be) the *Service* should be said, and Sacraments administered, *Secundum diversitates nationum & linguarum*, according to the difference of their Tongues and Nations. And though Pope *Gregory* the 7. a turbulent and violent man, about 200 years after the Concession made by *John* the 8. in his Letter to *Uratisslaus* King of *Bohemia*, laboured the cancelling of that priviledge, and possibly might prevail

vail therein as the times then were : yet the *Liburnians*, and *Dalmatians*, two *Slavonian* Nations, and bordering on *Italy* (the Popes proper seat) do still enjoy the benefit of that indulgence, and celebrate their *Liturgie* in their own Language to this very day. So that the wonder is the greater that those of *Rome* should stand so stiffly in defence of the *Latine Service*, which the common people understand not, and therefore cannot knowingly, and with faith say *Amen* unto it. For though the *Latine Tongue* was *Vulgar* in a manner to those Western Nations, amongst whom the *Latine Service* was first received, and for that cause received because *Vulgar* to them : yet when upon the inundation of the barbarous nation, the *Latine* tongue degenerated into other Languages, as in *France*, *Italy*, and *Spain* ; or else was quite worn out of knowledge as in *Britain*, *Belgium*, and some parts of the modern *Germany*, in which before it had been commonly understood ; it was both consonant to piety and *Christian* Prudence, that the Language of the common *Liturgies* should be altered also. The people otherwise either in singing *David's* Psalms, or repeating any parts of the daily Office, must needs be like those *Romans* or *Italians* which *S. Ambrose* speaks of ; who loved to sing *Greek* songs by rote (as we use to say) out of a meer delight which they had to the sound of the words ; *nescientes tamen quid dicam*, not understanding one word which they said or sung.

The blame and guilt of *Innovation* being taken off, we must next examine the effects and dangerous consequents ; more visibly discerned at this time in the Church of *England*, then was or could have been believed when they were first intimated. Amongst these they reckon in the first place the increase of *Heresies*, occasioned by the mistaking of the true sense and meaning of the Holy Scripture ; and to that end it is said by *Bellarmino*, that the people would not only receive no good by having the Scripture read publicly unto them in their national Languages, *Sed etiam caperet detrimentum*, but on the contrary are like to receive much hurt. However, *acciperet facillime occasionem errandi* : because thereby they would most easily be led into errors : which gave occasion unto some (as he tells us there) to call the Scripture

Librum Hereticorum, the Hereticks Book. So he in his 2. Book and 15. chapter, *De verbo Dei*. The like saith *Harding* in his Answer to Bishop *Jewel's Challenge*, Art. 3. sect. 31. The Nations (saith he) that have ever had their Service in the vulgar Tongue (where note that some Nations never had it otherwise) have continued still in Errors, Schisms, and certain Judaical Ceremonies, &c. In the next place they reckon this, that by permitting Scripture and the publick Liturgies to be extant in the *Vulgar Tongues*, all men would think themselves Divines, and the authority of the Prelates would be disesteemed; So *Harding* in his Answer to *Jewels Apologie*. l. 5. fol. 460. that the people not content with hearing or reading the holy Scripture, would first take upon them to be *Expositors*, and at last to be *Preachers* also, which in effect is that which is charged by *Bellarmino*. And for this last, the present Distempers and confusions in the Church of England (out of which they suck no small advantage) gives them great rejoycing, as seeing their predictions so exactly verified. In answer to the first we need say no more, then that there have been *Sects* and *Heresies* in all times and Ages: never so many as in the first ages of the Church (witness the Catalogue of *S. Augustine*, *Philastrius*, and *Epiphanius*) in which the Scripture was translated into fewer Languages then it is at the present. 2. That this is no necessary effect of such Translations (for we see few new *Heresies* started up of late in France or Germany, where such Translations are allowed of) but a meer possible Contingency, which either may be or may not be, as it pleaseth God to give or to withdraw his grace from a State or Nation. And 3. That as according to the Divine Rule of the Apostle, we must not do a thing positively evil, in hope that any good, how great soever, may come of it: so by Analogie thereunto, we must not debar the people of God from any thing positively good, for fear that any contingent mischief may ensue upon it. But of this I shall not say more now, as being loth to travel on a common place. The point hath been so canvassed by our *Controversors*, that you may there finde Answers unto all Objections.

That which doth most concern me to consider of, is the second consequent, because it doth relate more specially then the

the other did to the present condition and estate of the Church of England. Although the *Charge* be general and equally concerning all the *Protestant* and *Reformed* Churches: yet the *Application* makes it ours, as before I said, and as ours, properly within the compasse of my present design. And though I will not take upon me to Advocate for the present distempers and confusions of this wretched Church (which no man can lament with a greater tendernes, or look on with more indignation then I do, and I think you know it) : yet I must tell you that it is neither *Novum crimen C. Cesar*, nor *ante hæc tempora inauditum*, for those of the inferiour sort to take upon them the inquiry into sacred matters, to turn *Expositors* and *Preachers*, as the spirit of *delusion* moves them. The people have had an itch this way, in all times and Ages. The *Satyrist* thus complained of it amongst the *Heathens* ;

Esce inter pocula querunt
Romulides fatui, quid dia Poemata narrant.

That is to say,

The wel-fed Romans in their Cups, do fit
And judge of things contain'd in holy Writ.

And the Apostle doth complain of it among the *Christians*, where he informes us of some ignorant and unstable men, which wrested some hard places of S. Pauls Epistles, as they also did the other Scriptures, to their own destruction, 2 Pet. 3. 26 and wrest them so they could not (I am sure of that) did they not take the liberty of expounding also. Look lower to S. Basils time, when learning did most flourish in the Church of CHRIST, and we shall finde the Emperors Cook (or the Clerk of his Kitchen at the best) as busily dishing out the Scriptures, as if it were no more then serving up his Masters diet from the Kitchin-hatch : paid home by that good father for his overgreat sawcinesse, with this handsome scoffe, *Tuum est de pulmento cogitare, non Divina decoquere*, that it belonged unto his office to provide good pottage for the Court, not to Cook the

Scriptures. But this was not the folly only of this *Master Cook*, who perhaps (though better fed then taught) might now and then have carried up the *Chaplains* Messe, and having heard their learned conferences and discourses, was apt enough to think himself no small fool at a joynt of Divinity. That whole age was extremely tainted with the self-same peccancy; of which *S. Hierome* in his Epistle to *Paulinus* makes this sad complaint. "Whereas (saith he) all other Sciences and Trades have their severall and distinct professors, *Sola Scripturarum ars est quam omnes passim sibi vendicant*; only the Art of opening or rather of undoing a Text of Scripture, (as the phrase is now) was usurped by all: *Hanc garrula anus, hanc delirus senex, &c.* The prattling Gossip and the doting Sire, the windy *Sophister*, and in a word, all sorts of people do presume upon, dismembring the body of the Scriptures, and teaching others before they have learnt any thing that is worth the teaching. Some with a supercilious look, speaking big words discourse of holy Scripture among *silly women*: others (the more the shame) learn that of women which afterwards they may teach to men, and some with no small volubility of tongue, and confidence, teach that to others which they never understood themselves: Not to say any thing of those who having a smack of humane learning, and coming so prepared to handle the Holy Scriptures, do with enticing words feed the ears of the people, bearing their Auditors in hand *quicquid dixerint legem Dei esse*, that whatsoever they deliver is the *Word of God*, nor will vouchsafe to learn what the Prophets and Apostles do conceive of the matter, but very incongruously produce some Testimonies out of holy Writ to make good their corrupt imaginations; as if it were an excellent, not a pernicious way of teaching, to wrest the sense of holy Scripture, and thereby to accommodate it to their present purposes! Hath not the Father given us in this place and passage a most excellent Mirrour, wherein to see the ill complexion of the present times? doth not he set them forth in such likely colours, as if he rather did delineate the confusions of the present Age, then lament the miseries of

of his own? May not both Factions see by this, what a condition the poor Church of *England* is involved in by them? The sight whereof although it justifie them not in their severall courses, as being not without example in their present practises): yet it may serve to let you know that as the distractions and confusions under which we suffer, are not the consequents of our translating of the Scriptures and publick Liturgies into the common vulgar Tongues, so it is neither new nor strange that such confusions and distractions should befall the Church.

5. *That the proceedings of this Church in setting out the English Liturgie, were not meerly Regal; and of the power of Sovereign Princes in Ecclesiastical affairs.*

Having thus proved that nothing hath been done amisse by the Church of *England*, with reference to Gods Word, the testimonies of godly Fathers, and the usage of the primitive times, in leaving off the *Latine* Service, and celebrating all Divine Offices in the *English* Tongue: I am to justifie it next, in order to the carrying on of that weighty business, whether so *Regular* or not, as we said would have it. I see you are not scrupled at the subject-matter of the Common-prayer-Book, which being translated into *Greek*, *Latine*, *French*, and *Spanish*, hath found a general applause in most parts of Christendome; no where so little set by as it is at home. All scruples in that kinde have been already fully satisfied by our learned *Hooker*, who hath examined it *per partes*, and justified it in each part and particular Office. But for the greater honour of it take this with you also, which is alledged in the Conference of *Hampton Court*, touching the Marquesse of *Rhosny* (after Duke of *Sally* and Lord High Treasurer of *France*) who coming Ambassador to King *James* from *Henry* the 4. and having seen the solemn celebration of our Service at *Canterbury*, and in his Majesties *Royal Chappels*, did often and publickly affirm, that if the Reformed Churches in *France* had kept the same Orders as were here in *England*, he was assured there would have been many thousand Protestants in that Kingdome more then were at that time.

time. That which you seem to stick at only is in the way and manner of proceeding in it: which though you finde by perusal of the papers which I sent first unto you, not to have been so *Parliamentarian* as the *Papists* made it; yet still you doubt whether it were so *Regular* and *Canonical* as it might have been. And this you stumble at the rather, in regard that the whole Body of the Clergy in their *Convocation*, had no hand therein, either as to *decree* the doing of it, or to *approve* it being done; but that it was resolved on by the King (or rather by the Lord Protector in the Kings *Minority*) with some few of the Bishops; by which Bishops and as small a number of learned Church-men, being framed and fashioned, it was allowed of by the King, confirmed or imposed rather by an Act of Parliament. Your question hereupon is this, *Whether the King* (for his acting it by a Protector doth not change the Case) *consulting with a lesser part of his Bishops and Clergy, and having their consent therein, may conclude any thing in the way of a Reformation, the residue and greatest part not advised withall, nor yeelding their consent unto it in a formal way.* This seems to have some reference to the *Scottish Liturgie* (for by your Letter I perceive that one of the chief of your Objectors is a Divine of that Nation) and therefore it concerns me to be very punctual in my Answer to it.

And that my Answer may be built on the surer Ground, it is to be considered, first whether the *Reformation* be in corruption of manners, or abuses in Government, whether in matters *practical*, or in points of Doctrine. 2. If in matters *practical*, whether such practise have the character of *Antiquity*, *Universality*, and *Consent*, imprinted on it; or that it be the practise of particular Churches, and of some times only. And 3. if in points of Doctrine, whether such points have been determined of before in a *General Council*, or in particular Councils universally received and countenanced; or are to be defined *de novo* on emergent controversies. And these *Distinctions* being laid, I shall answer briefly. First, if the things to be reformed be either corruptions in manners, or neglect of publick duties to Almighty God, abuses either in Government or the parties governing: the King may do it

it of himself by his sole authority. The *Clergy* are beholding to him, if he takes any of them along with him when he goeth about it. And if the times should be so bad, that either the whole body of the *Clergy* or any (though the greatest) part thereof should oppose him in it; he may go forwards notwithstanding, punishing such as shall gainsay him in so good a work, and compelling others. And this I look on as a Power annexed to the Regal Diadem, and so inseparably annexed, that Kings could be no longer Kings if it were denied them. But hereof we have spoke already in the first of this *Section*, and shall speak more hereof in the next that followes. And on the other side, if the *Reformation* be in points of Doctrine, and in such points of doctrine as have not been before defined, or not defined in form, and manner as before laid down: the King only with a few of his Bishops and learned Clergy (though never so well studied in the point disputed) can do nothing in it. That belongs only to the whole Body of the Clergy in their *Convocation* rightly called and constituted; whose Acts being ratified by the King, binde not alone the rest of the Clergy in whose names they *Voted*, but all the residue of the subjects of what sort soever, who are to acquiesce in their Resolutions. The constant practise of the Church, and that which we have said before touching the calling and authority of the *Convocation*, makes this clear enough. But if the thing to be *Reformed* be a matter *practical*, we are to look into the usage of the *primitive* times. And if the practise prove to have been both ancient and universally received over all the Church, though intermitted for a time and by time corrupted: the King consulting with so many of his Bishops and others of his most able Clergy, as he thinks fit to call unto him, and having their consent and direction in it; may in the case of *intermission* revive such practise, and in the case of *corruption* and degeneration restore it to its Primitive and original lustre, whether he do it of himself, of his own *meer motion*, or that he follow the advice of his *Council* in it; whether he be of age to inform himself, or that he doth relie on those to whom he hath committed the publick Government; it comes all to one: so they re-

strain themselves to the ancient patterns. The Reformation which was made under *Josias*, though in his Minority and acting by the *Counsel of the Elders* as *Josephus* telleth us, *Antiqu. Jud. l. cap.* was no lesse pleasing unto God, nor lesse valid in the eyes of all his subjects; then those of *Jehosaphat* and *Hzekiah* in their riper years, and perhaps acting singly on the strength of their own judgements only without any advice. Now that there should be *Liturgies* for the use of the Church, that those Liturgies should be celebrated in a language understood by the people: that in those *Liturgies* there should be some prescribed Formes for giving the Communion in both kinds, for Baptizing Infants, for the reverent celebration of Marriage, performing the last office to the sick and the decent burial of the Dead, as also for set Feasts and appointed Festivals; hath been a thing of primitive and general practise in the *Christian Church*. And being such, though *intermitted* or *corrupted*, as before is said, the King advising with his Bishops and other Church-men (though not in a *Synodical* way) may cause the same to be *revised* and *revived*: and having fitted them to edification and increase of piety either commend them to the Church by his sole authority, or else impose them on the people under certain penalties by his power in Parliament. *Sape Caeleste Regnum per Terrenum proficit*. The Kingdome of Heaven (said Reverend *Isidore of Sevil*) doth many times receive increase from these earthly kingdomes; in nothing more then by the regulating and well ordering of Gods publick worship.

We saw before what *David* did in this particular allotting to the Priest the Courses of their Ministrations, appointing Hymns and Songs for the *Jewish* Festivals, ordaining singing-men to sing, and finally prescribing *Vestments* for the Celebration. Which what else was it but a Regulating of the worship of God, the putting it into a solemn course and order, to be observed from time to time in succeeding ages? Sufficient ground for *Christian Princes* to proceed on in the like occasions: especially when all they do is rather the reviving of the Ancient Formes then the *Introduction* of a new. Which as the King did here in *England* by his own Authority, the Body of the Clergy not consulted

sulted in it; so possibly there might be good reason, why those who had the conduct of the Kings affairs, thought it not safe to put the managing of the businesse to a *Convocation*. The ignorance and superstition of the common people was at that time exceeding profitable to the *Clergy*, who by their frequent Masses for the *quick and dead* raised as great advantage, as *Demetrius* and the *Silver-Smith* by *Dianas* shrines. It hapned also in a time when many of the inferior *Clergy* had not much more learning then what was taught them in the *Missals* and other *Rituals*, and well might fear that if the *Service* were once extant in the *English* tongue, the *Laity* would prove in time as great *Clerks* as themselves. So that as well in point of *Reputation*, as in point of *Profit*, (besides the love which many of them had to their former *Mum-psimus*) it was most probable that such an hard piece of *Reformation* would not easily down, had it been put into the power of a *Convocation*: especially under a Prince in *Nonage*, and a state unsetled. And yet it was not so carryed without them neither, but that the *Bishops* generally did concur to the Confirmation of the Book (or the approbation of it rather) when it passed in Parliament: the *Bishops* in that time and after, (till the late vast and most improvident increase of the Lay-nobility) making the most considerable, if not the greatest part of the House of *Peers*; and so the Book not likely to be there allowed of, without their consent. And I the rather am inclined unto that Opinion, because I finde that none but *Tunstall*, *Gardiner* and *Bonner* were displaced from their Bishopricks, for not submitting in this case to the Kings appointments; which seems to me a very strong and convincing argument, that none but they dissented or refused contormity. Adde here, that though the whole body of the *Clergy* in their *Convocation* were not consulted with at first (for the Reasons formerly recited) yet when they found the benefit and comfort which redounded by it to good Christian people, and had by little and little weaned themselves from their private interesses, they all confirmed it on the *Post-factū*: passing an *Article* in the *Convocation* of the year 1552. with this Head or Title, viz. *Agendum esse in Ecclesia lingua quæ sit Populo nota*, which is the 25. Article in

King Edwards Book. Lay all that hath been said together, and the result of all will be briefly this, that being the setting out of the Liturgie in the *English* Tongue was a matter *practical*, agreeable to the Word of God and the Primitive times; that the King with so many of his Bishops and others of the Clergy as he pleased to call to Counsel in it, resolved upon the doing of it; that the Bishops generally confirmed it when it came before them, and that the whole body of the Clergy in their *Convocation* (the Book being then under a *review*) did avow and justify it: The result of all I say is this, that as the work it self I say was good, so it was done not in a *Regal* but a *Regular* way, Kings were not Kings if *regulating* the external parts of Gods publick worship according to the *Platformes* of the *Primitive* times, should not be allowed them.

But yet the Kings of *England* had a further right as to this particular, which is a power conferred upon them by the Clergy (whether by way of *Recognition* or *Concession*, I regard not here) by which they did invest the King with a Supreme Authority not only of confirming their *Synodical* Acts not to be put in execution without his consent; but in effect to devolve on him all that power, which firmly they enjoyed in their own capacity. And to this we have a parallel Case in the *Roman* Empire, in which there had been once a time when the Supreme Majesty of the State was vested in the Senate and people of *Rome*, till by the Law which they called *Lex Regia*, they transferred all their Power on *Cesar*, and the following Emperors. Which Law being passed, the Edicts of the Prince or Emperor was as strong and binding as the *Senatus Consulta* and the *Plebiscita* had been before. Whence came that memorable *Maxim* in *Justinians* *Institutes*; that is to say, *Quod Principi placuerit legis habet vigorem*. The like may be affirmed of the Church of *England*, immediately before, and in the reign of K. *Henry* 8. The Clergy of this Realm had a *Self-authority* in all matters which concerned Religion, and by their Canons and Determinations did binde all the subjects of what rank soever, till by acknowledging that King for their *supreme Head*, and by the Act of *submission* not long after following, they

trans-

transferred that power upon the King, and on his Successors: By doing whereof they did not only disable themselves from concluding any thing in their *Convocations*, or putting their *resolutions* into execution without his consent; but put him into the actual possession of that Authority which properly belonged to the *supremacy*, or the *supreme Head*, in as full manner as ever the Pope of Rome, or any delegated by and under him did before enjoy it. After which time, whatsoever the King or his Successors did in the *Reformation*, as it had virtually the power of the *Convocations*; so was it as effectual and good in law, as if the Clergy in their *Convocation* particularly, and *in terminis*, had agreed upon it. Not that the King or his Successors were hereby enabled to exercise the *Keies*, and determine *Heresies*, much lesse to preach the Word and administer the Sacraments, as the Papists falsely gave it out; but as the *Heads* of the *Ecclesiastical Body* of this Realm, to see that all the members of that Body did perform their duties, to rectifie what was found amiss amongst them, to preserve peace between them on emergent differences, to reform such errors and corruptions as are expressly contrary to the word of God; and finally, to give strength and motions to their Councils and Determinations, tending to Edification and increase of Piety. And though in most of their proceedings toward *Reformation*, the Kings advised with such Bishops as they had about them, or could assemble without any great trouble or inconvenience, to advise withall; yet was there no necessity, that all or the greatest part of the Bishops should be drawn together for that purpose, no more then it was anciently in the Primitive Times for the godly Emperors to call together the most part of the Bishops in the *Roman Empire*, for the establishing of the matters which concerned the Church, or for the godly Kings of *Judah* to call together the greatest part of the *Priests* and *Levites*, before they acted any thing in the *Reformation* of those corruptions and abuses which were crept in amongst them. Which being so; and then withall considering as we ought to do, that there was nothing altered here in the state of Religion, till either the whole Clergy in their *Convocation*, or the Bishops and most

eminent Church-men had resolved upon it; our Religion is no more to be called a *Regal* then a *Parliament-Gospel*.

6. *That the Clergy lost not any of their just Rights by the Act of Submission, and the power of calling and confirming Councils did anciently belong to the Christian Princes.*

If you conceive that by ascribing to the King the Supreme Authority, taking him for their *Supreme Head*, and by the Act of Submission which ensued upon it, the Clergy did unwittingly ensnare themselves, and drew a Vassallage on these of the times succeeding, inconsistent with their native Rights, and contrary to the usage of the Primitive Church: I hope it will be no hard matter to remove that *scruple*. It's true the Clergy in their Convocation can do nothing now, but as their doings are confirmed by the Kings authority, and I conceive it stands with reason (as well as point of State) that it should be so. For since the two Houses of Parliament, though called by the Kings Writ, can conclude nothing which may binde either King or Subject, in their Civil Rights, untill it be made good by the Royal Assent: so neither is it fit nor safe, that the Clergy should be able by their Constitutions and *Synodical Acts*, to conclude both Prince and People in spiritual matters, untill the stamp of Royal Authority be imprinted on them. The Kings concurrence in this case devesteth not the Clergy of any lawful power which they ought to have, but restrains them only in the exercise of some part thereof, to make it more agreeable to Monarchical Government, & to accommodate it to the benefit both of Prince and People. It's true the Clergy of this Realm can neither meet in Convocation, nor conclude any thing therein, nor put in execution any thing which they have concluded, but as they are enabled by the Kings authority. But then it is as true withall, that this is neither inconsistent with their native Rights, nor contrary unto the usage of the Primitive Times. And first it is not inconsistent with their native Rights, it being a peculiar happineffe of the Church of *England* to be alwaies under the protection of *Christian Kings*;
by

by whose encouragement and example, the Gospel was received in all parts of this Kingdome. And if you look into Sir Henry Spelman's Collection of the *Saxon* Councils, I believe that you will hardly finde any Ecclesiastical Canons for the Government of the Church of *England*, which were not either originally promulgated, or after approved and allowed of either by the Supreme Monarch of all the *Saxons*, or by some King or other of the several *Heptarchies*, directing in their *National* or *Provincial* Synods. And they enjoyed this Prerogative without any dispute after the *Norman* Conquest also, till by degrees the Pope ingrossed it to himself (as before was shewn) and then conferred it upon such as were to exercise the same under his authority: which plainly manifests that the Act of *Submission* so much spoke of, was but a changing of their dependance from the Pope to the King, from an usurped to a lawful power, from one to whom they had made themselves a kinde of voluntary slaves, to him who justly challenged a natural dominion over them; and secondly, that that submission of theirs to their natural Prince, is not to be considered as a new *Concession*, but as the *Recognition* only of a former power.

In the next place I do not finde it to be contrary to the usage of the primitive times. I grant indeed that when the Church was under the command of the Heathen Emperors, the Clergy did assemble in their *National* and *Provincial* Synods of their own Authority: which Councils being summoned by the *Metropolitans*, and subscribed by the Clergy, were of sufficient power to binde all good Christians who lived within the Verge of their Jurisdiction. They could not else assemble upon any exigence of affairs but by such authority. But it was otherwise when the Church came under the protection of Christian Princes: all Emperors and Kings from *Constantine* the Great (till the Pope carried all before him in the darker times) accompting it one of the principal flowers, (as indeed it was) which adorned their Diadems. I am not willing to beat on a common place. But if you please to look into the Acts of ancient Councils, you will finde that all the *General* Councils (all which deserve to be so called, if any of them do

do deserve it) to have been summoned and confirmed by the Christian Emperors, that the Council of *Arles* was called and confirmed by the Emperor *Constantine*, that of *Sardin* by *Constans*, that of *Lampsacus* by *Valentinian*, that of *Aquileia* by *Theodosius*, that of *Thessalonica* (National or Provincial all) by the Emperor *Gratian*: that when the Western Empire fell into the hands of the French, the Councils of *Akon*, *Mentz*, *Meldun*, *Wormes*, and *Colen* received both life and motion from *Charles* the Great and his Successors in that Empire; it being evident in the Records of the *Gallican Church*, that the opening and confirming of all their Councils not only under the *Caroline* but under the *Merovigean* Family, was always by the power, & sometimes with the Presidence of their Kings and Princes, as you may finde in the Collections of *Lindebrogius*, and *Sirmondus* the *Jesuite*: and finally that in *Spain* it self (though now so much obnoxious to the Papal power) the two at *Bracara*, and the ten first holden at *Toledo*, were summoned by the Writ and Mandate of the Kings thereof. Or if you be not willing to take this pains, I shall put you to a shorter and an easier search; referring you for your better information in this particular to the learned Sermon preached by Bishop *Andrewes* at *Hampton Court*, anno 1606. touching the *Right and power of calling Assemblies*, or the right use of the Trumpets. A Sermon preached purposely at that time and place for giving satisfaction in that point to *Melvin* and some leading men of the *Scotish Puritans*, who of late times had arrogated to themselves an unlimited power of calling and constituting their Assemblies without the Kings consent and against his will.

As for the *Vassallage* which the Clergy are supposed to have drawn upon themselves by this *Submission*, I see no fear or danger of it as long as the two Houses of Parliament are in like condition; and that the Kings of *England* are so tender of their own *Prerogative*, as not to suffer any one Body of the Subjects to give a Law unto the other without his consent. That which is most insisted on for the proof hereof, is the delegating of this power by King *Henry* the 8. to Sir *Thomas Cromwell* (afterwards Earl of *Essex* and Lord high Chamberlain) by the name of his *Vicar General in Ecclesiastical matters*:

ters : who by that name presided in the Convocation, anno 1536. and acted other things of like nature in the years next following. And this (especially his presiding in the Convocation) is looked on both by *Sanders* and some Protestant Doctors, not only as a great debasing of the *English* Clergie (men very learned for those times) but as *deforme (et in Spectaculum)*, a kinde of Monstrosity in nature. But certainly those men forget (though I do not think my self bound to justify all King *Harries* actions) that in the Councell of *Chalcedon*, the Emperor appointed certain Noble-men to sit as Judges, whose names occurre in the first *Action* of that Councell. The like we finde exemplified in the *Ephesine* Councell, in which by the appointment of *Theodosius* and *Valentinian* then *Roman* Emperours, *Candidianus*, a Count Imperiall, sat as Judge or President; who in the managing of that trust over acted any thing that *Cromwell* did, or is objected to have been done by him as the Kings Commissioner. For that he was to have the first place in those publick meetings as the Kings Commissioner, or his Vicar-General, which you will, (for I will neither trouble my self nor you with disputing Titles) the very *Scottish Presbyters*, the most rigid sticklers for their own pretended (and but pretended) Rights which the world affords, do not stick to yeeld. No vassallage of the Clergie to be found in this, as little to be feared by their submission to the King as their Supreme Governour.

Thus Sir according to my promise, and your expectation have I collected my Remembrances, and represented them unto you in as good a fashion as my other troublesome affairs, and the distractions of the time would give me leave; and therein made you see, if my judgement fail not, that neither our King or Parliaments have done more in matters which concern'd Religion and the Reformation of this Church, then what hath formerly been done by the secular Powers, in the best and happiest times of Christianity; and consequently, that the clamours of the Papists and Puritans both, which have disturbed you, are both false and groundlesse. Which if it may be servicable to your self, or

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others,

others, whom the like doubts and prejudices have possessed or scrupled, It is all I wish: my studies and endeavours aiming at no other end, then to do all the service I can possibly to the *Church* of God; to whose Graces and divine Protection you are most heartily commended in our Lord and Saviour *Jesw Christ*, By

Sir,

Your most affectionate friend
to serve you,

Peter Heylyn:

OF

